

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL
GRADUATES SCHOOL OF
THEOLOGY

TOPOSA NOMINALIZATIONS
(DERIVATIONS OF NOUNS
FROM VERBS)

BY

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I

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF
THEOLOGY

DERIVATION OF NOUNS (NOMINALIZATIONS) FROM
TOPOSA VERBS

BY

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A Linguistic Practicum submitted to the Nairobi
Evangelical Graduate School of Theology, Translation
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requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in
Translation Studies.

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Date:

January 1999

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II

Student's Declaration

DERIVATION OF NOUNS (NOMINALIZATIONS)
FROM THE TOPOSA VERBS

I declare that this is my original work and
has not been submitted to any other College
or University for academic credit.

(Signed) James Lokuuda Kadanya

James Lokuuda Kadanya

Date:

January, 1999

Dedication

To the Glory of the Lord Jesus Christ, my King,
Master and Redeemer For He alone has enabled me.

To my sister, Najore, who took care of me in my
infancy.

To David & Johan Gladstones who took the place of my
parents at my childhood life.

IV

Acknowledgment

This paper began as a class assignment during our morphosyntax linguistic course which was held in the 1997-1998 academic year in the final term. Due to the difficulty I encountered from doing the assignment on nominalization, which focused on the Toposa language, my professor, Dr. George Huttar challenged me to take up the issue as my term project. This challenge was further strengthened when the head of TDP, Dr. R. J. Sim mentioned that previous students nominalization in their practicum assignments. My thanks goes to them. Thanks to R. L. Watson, external reader, for his valueble suggestions. Thanks to Mrs. Mary Huttar for her encouraging humility. This helped to accomplish the task successfully. Thanks to Helga and Martin Schroeder for their varied assistance. Special appreciation to Samy Ikoa TIOYE. He encouraged me to continue when I was about to quit due to sickness. Thanks to SIL Sudan Branch for providing some funds to help meet part of the cost for this project. Glory to my Lord, Jesus Christ, for enabling me. Thanks all those who prayed for and with me when my health was failing: Mrs. Margaret Sim, Mrs. Mary Huttar, Rev. Ben and Mrs. Esther Suwa, Mr. Martin and Mrs Helga Schroeder, Dr. Russ Hersman, and Pastor Ken Matthews and Brethren of New Covenant Church, Bournemouth, UK. This Church supported me in kind. Thanks to my two informants (Peter Louju Lokwaam, and Alex Lopeyok Minit.) with whom I discussed some data.

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List of Abbreviations

ABL	Ablative (same as alletive)
ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb
AG	Agentive (Agent)
A/PA/PURP	Ablative Patient purpose
BEN	Benefactive
CAUS	Causative
CONJ	Conjunction
D	Diminutive (equivalence)
DEL	Deliberative
DEM	Demonstrative Pronouns
F	Female Gender
IMPF	Imperfective
LOC	Locative
LG	Long
M	Masculine
MAN	Manner
NOM	Nominalizer
NA	Noun Affix
NEG	Negative
NPr	Noun (or Nominalizer) Prefix
NS	Noun (or Nominalizer) Suffix
PA	Patient

IX

PASS	Passive
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural
PREP	Preposition
PROP	Pronoun
PURM	Purpose Marker
PURP	Purpose
RES	Resultative
SEQ	Sequence (Sequential)
SG	Singular
STA	Stative
V	Verb
VEN	Ventive
vd	voiced
v1	voiceless
V/PA/PURP	Ventive Patient Purpose
X	Relative pronoun
1s, 2s, 3s	First, Second, or Third Person singular
1p, 2p, 3p	First, Second, or Third plural
(ˊ)	High tone
(ˋ)	Low Tone
(-)	Mid tone (unmarked)
(^v)	Falling and rising tones unmarked

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CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 GENERIC AFFILIATION AND DEMOGRAPHY

Toposa (Taposa, Topotha, Akara, Karenit Kare, Kumi) is spoken in Southern Sudan, specifically in the south-east of the country. According to the Eleventh edition of the *Ethnologue* (Grimes, 1988: 317), the population is 105,000 persons. According to the Thirteenth Edition, it stands at 100,000 persons (Grimes, 1996: 403). However, the rebel movement which carried out some sort of limited census, claim range from 500,000 to even a million people.

My own figure is anywhere between 300,000 to 800,000 persons. The 1993 edition of *Operation World* (Johnstone, 1993: 510) has a 301,000 figure.

Toposa is in the family of Nilo-Saharan languages; it is Eastern Nilotic, and in the Teso-Turkana category. It is intelligible with the Turkana and Teso of Kenya; Karumojong, Dodos, and Jiye of Uganda; and with Nyangatom who live in southeastern Sudan and southwest Ethiopia.

More than 98% of the Toposa people live in the rural areas. Their lifestyle is dependent on raising livestock.

1.2. DIALECTS

The main dialects of the Toposa are Western Toposa, Eastern Toposa, and Jiye, which could be called Northern Toposa. This linguistic practicum focuses on Western Toposa. The reason for this focus is because Bible Translation will be done in this dialect.

1.3. WESTERN TOPOSA NOMINALIZATION PROCESSES

This practicum focuses on the Western Toposa dialect. Nevertheless, there is not much different between these dialects. The differences are minimal, for example, slight tonal differences.

The Nominalization processes have complexities because of the many affixes added to the verb stem.

From the simple verb stems like *-tic* 'work', *-cap* 'weed' and *-tatam* 'teach'; we see how many derivations can be made as follows:

-tic singular derivations

- (1) Ny-e-tic
 NP-M-work
 'Work.' (noun)

- (2) Ny-a-ki -tic
 NP-M-NOM-work
 'The working.'

- (3) Ny-e-ke-tic -on
NP-M-AG-work-NS
'Worker.'
- (4) Ny-e-ki -tic -o
NP-M-NOM-work-IMPF
'Work' (work purposed to be worked on)
- (5) Ny-e-kisi-tic -o
NP-M-AG -work-IMPF
'Worker' (purposed to be made to work)
- (6) Ny-e-kesi-tic-on
NP-M-AG -work-NS
'employer'
- (7) Ny-e-ka -ny-e-tic
NP-M-PURM-NA-M-work
'(A thing /person) for work'

This previous example exemplifies the verbal noun joined to a preposition *ka-* together with the verbal noun. The reason the whole thing is put together as nominalized verb is because *ka-* has received a noun prefix *ny-* plus a gender marker *e-* which is together attached to the verbal noun, *nyetic*.

- (8) Ny-e-ki -tic -iyet
NP-M-NOM-work-INST
'An instrument for working'

-tic plural derivations

- (9) ŋ -i-tic -o
NP-M-work-IMPF
'Works' (noun)
- (10) ŋ -i-ke-tic -ok
NP-M-AG-work-PL
'Workers'
- (11) ŋ -i-ki -tic -yo
NP-M-NOM-work-PL
'Works' (purposed to be worked on).
- (12) ŋ -i-kisi-tic -o
NP-M-AG -work-IMPF
'Workers' (purposed to be made to work)'
- (13) ŋ -i-kesi-tic -ok
NP-M-AG -work-PL
'Employers or those who make others work'
- (14) ŋ -i-ka -ŋ -i-tic -o
NP-M-PREP-NA-M-work-IMPF
'(things/people) for works'
- (15) ŋ -i-ki -tic -iyet
NP-M-NOM-work-INST
'Instruments for working'

-tatam- single derivations

- (16) ny-a-ki -tatam
NP-F-NOM-teach
'Teaching' (n)
- (17) ny-e-ki -tatam-e
NP-M-NOM-teach-MAN/STA
'The teaching'

- (18) ny-e-ke-tatam-an
 NP-M-AG-teach-NS
 'Teacher (male)'
- (19) ny-a-ke-tatam-an
 NP-F-AG-teach-NS
 'Teacher (female)'
- (20) ny-e-ki -tatam-a
 NP-M-NOM-teach-IMPF
 'One to be taught (student/learner)'
- (21) ny-e-ki -tatam-a
 NP-M-NOM-teach-IMPF
 'Topic (of male gender) to be taught.'
- (22) ny-a-ki -tatam-a
 NP-M-NOM-teach-IMPF
 'Topic (of female/neuter gender) to be taught'
- (23) ny-e-kesi-tatam-an
 NP-M-AG -teach-NS
 'One who makes others teach'
- (24) ny-e-ka -ny-a-ki -tatam
 NP-M-PREP-NA-F-NOM-teach
 'For teaching'
- (25) ny-e-ki -tatam-et
 NP-M-NOM-teach-INST
 'something/instrument for teaching'
- tatam plural derivations
- (26) ŋ -a-ki -tatam-eta
 NP-F-NOM-teach-IMPF
 'Teachings'
- (27) ŋ -i-ke -tatam-ak
 NP-M-AG-teach-PL

'teachers (male)'

(28) η -a-ke-tatam-ak

NP-F-AG-teach-PL

'teachers (female)'

(29) η -i-ki -tatam-a

NP-M-NOM-teach-IMPF

'The ones to be taught'

(30) η -i-ki -tatam-a

NP-M-NOM-teach-IMPF

'(male like) topic to be taught'

(31) η -a-ki -tatam-a

NP-M-NOM-teach-IMPF

'(Female/neuter like) topic to be taught.'

(32) η -i-kesi-tatam-ak

NP-M-AG -teach-PL

'Those who make others teach'

(33) η -i-ka -η -a-ki -tatam-eta

NP-M-PREP-NP-M-NOM-teach-IMPF

'For teachings'

(34) η -i-ki -tatam-et

NP-M-NOM-teach-INST

'Things/instruments for teaching.'

-cap- single derivations

(35) ny-a-ki -cap

NP-F-NOM-weed

'weeding (noun)'

(36) ny-e-cap-e

NP-M-weed-MAN/STA

'The weeding'

- (37) ny-e-ka-cap-an
 NP-M-AG-weed-NS
 'One who weeds'
- (38) ny-e-cap -at
 NP-M-weed-PURP
 'Field to be weeded'
- (39) ny-e-kite-cap-a
 NP-M-AG -weed-IMPF
 'One to be caused to weed.'
- (40) ny-e-kete-cap-an
 NP-M-AG -weed-NS
 'The one who causes another to weed.'
- (41) ny-e-ka -ny-a-ki -cap
 NP-M-PREP-NA-F-NOM-weed
 'Instrument meant for weeding'
- (42) ny-e-cap -et
 NP-M-weed-INST
 'Instrument for weeding'

The previous two examples have no difference in meaning,
 the language allows two ways of saying the same thing.

These derivations will be dealt with in the body of
 this paper. We will attempt to explain the morphological
 processes that occur in the derivation of these nouns.

1.4. PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY CONVENTIONS

Based on the analysis which I have done in my first year of studies, a Toposa orthography can be established. There are 17 consonants (phonemes) plus a number of labialized and palatalized sounds. Below is the Toposa Consonant Chart, including the labialized and palatalized sounds.

		bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar
Plosives	vl	p	t	c	k
lab	vl	p ^w	t ^w	c ^w	k ^w
pal	vl	p ^j	t ^j	c ^j	k ^j
	vd	b	d	j	g
lab	vd	b ^w	d ^w	j ^w	g ^w
pal	vd	b ^j	d ^j	j ^j	g ^j
fricatives	vl		s		
lab	vl		s ^w		
pal	vl		s ^j		
Nasals	vd	m	n	ny	ŋ
lab	vd	m ^w	n ^w	ny ^w	ŋ ^w
pal	vd	m ^j	n ^j		ŋ ^j
Vibrants	vd		r		
lab	vd		r ^w		
pal	vd		r ^j		
Laterals	vd		l		
lab	vd		l ^w		
pal	vd		l ^j		
Semi-Vowels	vd			y	w

Table 1 Toposa Consonant Chart

Note that:

1) The voiceless plosives are slightly aspirated depending on the speaker. For some speakers, in utterance final context, they also occur as unaspirated variants.

2) The voiceless velar plosive has a phonetic variant of [x] between back vowels, again, depending on the speaker.

3) The vibrant /r/ tends to be realized as flap in word initial and word medial positions, whereas, in utterance-final context, it is a trill.

The Toposa Vowel Chart is presented below.

	F R O N T			B A C K					
	UNROUNDED			UNROUNDED			ROUNDED		
	VD	LG	VL	VD	LG	VL	VD	LG	VL
CLOSED	i	i:	<u>i</u>				u	u:	<u>u</u>
-ATR	ɿ						ʊ		
CLOSE-MID	e	e:	<u>e</u>				o	o:	<u>o</u>
OPEN-MID (-ATR)	ɛ	ɛ:	ɛ				ɔ	ɔ:	ɔ
OPEN				a	a:	<u>a</u>			

Table 2 Toposa Vowel Chart

My concern in this section is where Toposa orthography convention and the International Phonetic Alphabets (IPA) differ, plus a comment on some earlier convention which I would like to challenge. Toposa orthography for *n* is /ny/-.

The labialized consonants, e.g., /k^w/, and the palatalized consonants, e.g., /k^j/, are represented in the orthography as /kw/ and /ky/, respectively.

Long vowels are indicated by a double vowel, e.g., /aa/.

Regarding the two voiceless vowels, /i/ and /u/, it was earlier agreed that these phonemes will only be included in writing where they serve to change the meaning of the word. I think this idea is not the best. I suggest that these letters or phonemes need to be written in the Toposa material. It helps in the correct pronunciation and meaning for both the native speakers and outsiders. I have experienced difficulty with voiceless versus voiced vowels when I was reading the Toposa Readers II. One has to spend some time to make sense where this important distinction of voicing was not written. For this reason, I am going to include these phonemes wherever they occur, whether they

are serving to change the meaning of the word or not.

1.5. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

All the analysis that has been done on the Toposa language was done entirely by Martin and Helga Schroeder. See the Bibliography for further references on Toposa. None of these works was on nominalization.

1.6. THE METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

The data for this practicum is primarily from the writer. I am a native speaker of this language. It is my first language and I have spoken it (almost all my life.

Another source of data is the Toposa Reader II. These are stories which were written by various Toposa speakers, with Martin and Helga Schroeder compiling them. These stories are well-known in the Toposa community.

The other source of the data is by means of two Toposa informants with whom I discussed some data.

1.7. THE SCOPE AND GOALS OF THE PRACTICUM

The Scope

This work is restricted to Nominalizations in Toposa. We have attempted to include all areas where nouns are formed from verbs. Nouns formed from verbs are either

Action Nominalization or Participant Nominalizations. "Action nominalization refers to the action, usually in the abstract, expressed by the verb root", (Payne, 1997: 224). In other words, there is a process defining the verbal noun. "A Participant nominalization is a verb based nominalization strategy that results in a noun that refers to one of the participants of the verb root", (Payne, 1997: 225). This is an area which is highly productive in the Toposa language. This study is important as far as Bible translation and general language usage is concerned.

The Goals

My general goal is:

1. To contribute to the promotion of literacy and Bible translation and provide aid to others who may want to know about and understand nominalization procedures in the Toposa language.

2. Through this project, I want to develop my understanding of expertise in descriptive linguistics, especially as I engage in the process of gathering and handling linguistic data, doing linguistic analysis, and in writing an adequate report. The purpose, therefore, is to understand this area of the linguistic field for the

sake of Bible translation. The topic of nominalization is important because the Toposa language employs this phenomenon widely in deriving nouns from verbs. This will involve analysis and explanation of nominalization in the Toposa language.

1.8. THE MORPHEMES OF NOMINALIZATION IN TOPOSA

There are basically two kinds of processes that are involved in the derivation of nouns from verbs in the Toposa language. They can be described as Nominalizers and Noun Affixes. In some contexts, the noun affixes become nominalizers (see the case of instrumental and objective verbal nouns, 3.3). The nominalizer morpheme is *ki-* prefix.

Note on *ki-* Nominalizer:

Not all the verbs can take the nominalizer *ki-*. It is beyond the scope of this paper to explain the rules that govern this. Agentive and Objective nominalizations do not take this morpheme. The Patient/purpose with *-a(t)/-o(t)* suffixes, do not take it, whereas those with *-a/-o*, *-ara/-oro* and *-una/-uno* suffixes can take *ki-*. Other forms that can take *ki-* are instrumental, locational, ablative and ventive, stative and manner nominalizations. Action nominalization must take *ki-* save with irregular verbs.

The Noun affixes in addition to *ki-* are displayed in Table 3 below.

	GENDER	NAMING	KINSHIP	LOCATIVE
	PREFIXES	PREFIXES	PREFIXES	PREFIXES
MASCULINE	ny+e-	lo-	∅	lo-
	(ŋ)+i-	ta-lo-	ta-	
DIMINUTIVE	ny+i-			ni-
	(ŋ)+i-			
FEMININE	ny+a-	na-	∅	na-
	(ŋ)+a-	ta-na-	ta-	

Table 3 Noun Affixes

Note that our focus in this paper is on the noun prefix and the locative slots because this is where the nominalization morphology works.

The particle *ny-* is a noun prefix attached to singular nouns whereas *ŋ-* is attached to plural nouns. They are affixed to both normal nouns and to verbal nouns. The verbal noun may change morphologically when the plural noun prefix is attached to the verb. That is, when *ŋ-* is attached to the noun, more morphemes are added. Usually, the final affix(es) is either a personal particle or an

indication of the idea of the completeness or incompleteness of the action of the main verb. Both the personal particle and completeness (or incompleteness) could be realized in the same word at the same time, both in singular and plural of the derived nouns.

The two medial noun affixes (i.e., naming and kinship affixes) are basically naming and kinship affixes respectively. The name *Lokuuda* or *Nakuuda* are examples of this naming group. One can also say *Ta-Lokuuda* or *Ta-Nakuuda*. This is used when a person wants to refer to a group of people by using a representative name. See the example 43 below.

(43) Ki -ryam-a aaŋ ka ta -Nakuuda
 SEQ-meet-PERF I with those-of-Nakuuda
 e -los-e -te lo -cori.
 3S-go -PERF-3S LOC-river.

'I met those of Nakuuda going to the river to fetch water.'

A name with the addition of *ta-*, is used as a group name, especially the name of a person who is well known by hearer(s). It (*ta-*) is used like a plural marker. There is a bird called *Napurukucu*. To refer to many of these birds, we use the same strategy, *Ta-Napurukucu*.

The inclusion of the affixes (*ta-lo-*, *ta-na-*) in this table comes from the fact that they can be attached to

verbal nouns as well as on to typical nouns. In the examples above, the name *Lokuuda* has a verb root *kuud* 'gather.'

The kinship terms are greatly different from the naming nouns though they use *ta-*. The singular nouns have no unique morpheme to differentiate them as those for naming nouns. The list is included for the sake of showing contrast in the usage of *ta-*.

SingularPlural

(44)	<i>eya</i>	aunt	<i>ta-eya</i>	aunts
	<i>amae</i>	uncle	<i>ta-amae</i>	uncles
	<i>apa</i>	father	<i>ta-apa</i>	fathers
	<i>apaa</i>	grandpa	<i>ta-apaa</i>	grandfathers
	<i>itoo</i>	mother	<i>ta-itoo</i>	mothers
	<i>ata</i>	grandma	<i>ta-ata</i>	grandmothers
	<i>nakaato</i>	sister	<i>ta-nakaato</i>	sisters
	<i>lokaato</i>	brother	<i>ta-lokaato</i>	brothers

From this list we see that other than the attachment of the plural marker, there is no morphological change that takes place in the original kinship term.

Note also that *ni* (diminutive locative) is not used with verbal nouns as an affix.

We have presented a brief treatment of the noun prefixes and the locatives below. This brief discussion is an attempt to inform readers what other functions these particles have besides being nominalizers.

The prefix *ny-* is not just for nominalization only. This particle is used for verbal negation as well.

This is a situation where "morpheme that express clausal negation are ... normally associated with the verb", (Payne 1997:283). The examples below show how *ny-* signals verbal negation. It functions both as a negator on verbs and on nouns as a noun prefix. The example 47 shows *ny-* as a negator.

(45) *ny -i -muj-i ny-e-kile ny-a-tap.*

NEG-3S-eat-IMPF NP-M-man NP-F-porridge.

'The man is not eating porridge/ 'the man will never eat porridge.'

Note the two possible meanings of examples 45. Both meanings can hold in context, depending on the situation. That is, whether the speaker expressing the fact that the man has porridge before him and he is not eating it, or the speaker has decided not to allow the man to eat the porridge. Both, therefore, are expressed in the same way.

ny- (ŋ)- as a nominal prefix, when translated into English indicates the infinitive/gerundine idea as the translation of the example below shows.

Again, examples will help to clarify this better.

(46) "... ta -tam -u· ny-a-kuj ny-a-yau -n ikes
SEQ-think-VEN NP-F-god NP-F-bring-VEN them
kop." (Toposa Reader II, 1992).
earth.

'God thought to bring them to earth/'God thought of bringing (N)
the people to earth.'

The verbal noun *nyayaun* is derived from the verb *yeau*,
'bring.'

These are some other use of this particle. *Ny-* functions
to show some definiteness. This is not easy to demonstrate.
This particularly seems to be evident in mentioning objects
in isolation such as:

(47) nyakai 'The house'
nyakolon 'The sun'
nyanolol 'The river'
etc.

The plural noun prefix *ŋ-* functions in the same way as
ny-. The nominalized verb can take a plural prefix, in
addition to other affixes.

The other nominalizing particles are:

lo- (for masculine)

na- (for feminine).

ni- (for diminutive)

They indicate location in their function of nominalization.

Be aware lo-/na- have other functions other than of being locative nominalizer as well. The obvious one among these are illustrated below.

They function to differentiate between genders (masculine and feminine) as indicated in the two examples below.

(48) e -per -e -te ŋ- i-kilyok na- per -it.
 3P-sleep-IMPF-PL NP-M-men NP/F-camp-PERF
 'They are sleeping in the camp.'

(49) e -los-e -te ŋ -i-kilyok lo -rika.
 3P-go -IMPF-PL NP-M-men NP/M-hunt
 'The men will go to the hunt.'

Both also function as demonstratives.

E.g.,

(50) ya -u ny-e-kicolon lo.
 bring-VEN NP-M-chair this
 'Bring this chair.'

(51) ya -u ny-a-kaloboci na.
 bring-VEN NP-F-spoon this
 "Bring this spoon."

They also function as locatives, e.g.

- (52) a -lom -a -si ŋ-i- de na- moni.
 3P-enter-ABL-PL NP-M-children LOC-bush
 'The children have entered into (or in) the forest.'

- (53) e -ya ŋ -i-de lo -keno.
 3P-are NP-M-children LOC-fireplace
 'The children are at the fire-place.'

These also function as Relative Pronouns.

E.g.,

- (54) ki -tel ny-a-pei Loyoro, ines na ki -bala
 SEQ-branch NP-F-one Loyoro, it which SEQ-call
 injwon Kor.
 we Kor
 "One branched off to Loyoro, that [is] the one which
 we call Kor."

- (55) ny-e-koroe lo a- gyel-ar -io.
 NP-M-ram which 3P-sell-ABL-PASS
 'The ram which was sold.'

Another additional function of *na* is that of being a conjunction.
 But, *lo* does not have this function, e.g.,

- (56) na e-yek-okin-o ny-e-kile ny-i-koku ku-rum
 When 3S-see-BEN-PERF NP-F-man NP-F-child SEQ-catch
 inesi.
 him
 "When the man saw the child, he caught him."

The purpose of this paper is not to investigate these
 other usages of this particles. But it is worth mentioning
 so that the reader would be alerted so that he will not

have the impression that nominalization is the only function of these particles whenever he comes across them.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 ACTION NOMINALIZATION

2.1.1 DESCRIBING AND DEFINING ACTION NOMINALIZATION

Koptjevskaja-Tamm defines Action Nominalization "(Action nominals Construction (ANCs)) as, nouns derived from verbs (verbal nouns) with the general meaning of an action or process, capable of declining or taking prepositions or postpositions in the same way as non-derived nouns, and showing 'reasonable' productivity" (1993: 5).

This definition has two main points concerning verbal nouns. These nouns are derived from verbs and they behave in the same manner as non-derived nouns. In addition to these two points, the verbal nouns represent action or progress. These verbal nouns also assume the place of nouns in every way. "An action nominalization refers to the action, usually in the abstract, expressed by the verb root" (Payne 1997: 224).

"An action nominalization can be formulated as:

$V \rightarrow N_{\text{ACTION designated by } v}$ "

(Payne 1997: 224).

Verbal nouns can occupy nominals position in constituent order.

Also "action nominals in certain respects occupy an intermediate position between typical verbs and typical nouns" (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993: 6).

"Action nominals, like discovery, shooting, etc., clearly refer to events, like verbs do, although not by asserting the occurrence of the discourse, but by giving them a name. In other words, they combine semantic and discourse features of both verbs and nouns" (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993: 6). Verbal nouns perform the same functions, in many respects, as non-verbal nouns do.

The following quote further clarifies other functions of a normal noun as opposed to that of a verb: "Typical nouns include names of things, places, while typical verbs denote actions and processes Nouns prototypically introduce participants and props and deploy them, while verbs assert the occurrence of an event of the discourse" (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993: 6).

As mentioned in the Introduction of this paper, there are three morphemes for nominalizing verbs in Toposa. The

morpheme *ki-* is the nominalizer, and for that verbal noun to appear as nominalized, it must have the *ny-* noun prefix, which is attached to the beginning of the noun phrase. Both of these morphemes are nominalizers. But where *k-* occurs, *nyi-* functions as a noun prefix and not as nominalizer.

These are:

ny-
ki-
lo-/na-

For example, we have the verb root: *-dok-* 'climb'
 When it is nominalized we have the following forms.

- (57) *ny-a-ki -dok*
 NP-F-NOM-climb
 'Climbing' (noun)
- (58) *lo -dok -et.*
 LOC-climb-INST
 'Port or place of climbing'
- (59) *na-dok-et*
 LOC-climb-INST
 'Feminine name'

In Toposa there is only one situation where a verbal noun can appear without a noun prefix. This is when *nyadio* 'some' precedes either a verbal or normal noun.

- (60) i -nak ny-i-koku ny-a-dio ki-muj.
 2S-give NP-D-child NP-F-some NOM-eat.
 'Give the child some food.'

Event the objective verbal nouns behave this way.

- (61) e -ya-i ny-e-dio tic a
 3S-is-IMPF NP-M-some work ?
 'Is there some work?'

Note that, when the noun prefix *ny-* combines with a verb, the immediate following vowel determines the gender of that verbal noun.

E.g.,

- (62) ny-e-tic
 NP-M-work
 'Work' (e=male).

The root of the verb is *-tic*.

- (63) ny-a-ki -muj
 NP-F-NOM-eat
 'Food' (a=female).

Note that Toposa seem not to have derived nouns of the diminutive gender.

2.1.2 EXAMPLES OF ACTION NOMINALS

This example shows the verb *muj* 'eat' and the resulting verbal noun, *ny-a-ki-muj* 'food' or 'eating' (noun).

- | | | |
|------|----------------|---------------|
| (64) | i -muj-i | ny-a-ki- muj |
| | 3S-eat-IMPF | NP-F-NOM-eat |
| | 'he is eating' | 'food/eating' |

The example (65) demonstrates the verb *-muj-* 'eat' usage and the (66)-(67) below show *-muj-* in two nominalized forms.

Note that (66) has two identical nominalized forms functioning differently. The reader or listener should disambiguate the nominalized verb in context to discover how it is functioning.

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|------------|---------------|
| (65) | i -muj-i | ny-i-koku | ny-a-tap. |
| | 3S-eat-IMPF | NP-D-child | NP-F-porridge |
| | 'The child is eating porridge.' | | |

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|----------|-------------|--------------|
| (66) | a -yak-a | -si ŋ-u- | tun̄a | ny-a-ki -muj |
| | 3P-go | -PERF-3P | NP-M-people | NP-F-NOM-eat |
| | ny-a-ki -muj. | | | |
| | NP-F-NOM-eat | | | |
| | 'The people have gone to eat food.' | | | |

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|--------------|
| (67) | a -eak-a | -si ŋ -u- | tun̄a | na -ki -muj. |
| | 3P-go | -PERF-3P | NP-M-people | LOC-NOM-eat. |
| | 'The people have gone to the food.' | | | |

See other action verbal nouns in Appendix V.

2.2. STATIVE AND MANNER NOMINALIZATIONS

Stative nominalizations are defined "on semantic grounds, [that] they can be said to express states of affairs, rather than action...." (Crystal 1989: 326). Verbs that express a state of affairs, when nominalized, behave in the same manner. Stative nominalization have many endings as it shall be seen below.

Manner Nominalization refers to the way something is done. In Toposa the notion of habit or tendency of some action is clearly in focus.

The affix that combines the signals for both stative and manner nominalization of verbal noun is *-e*. Meaning that where the *-e* morpheme does not occur in the verbal noun in this class, we do not have manner nominalization but only stative nominalization.

These non-manner morphemes include:

-is

-ou in singular and *-osyo* in plural

-anut/-onut

-anu/-anu and *-ony/-onu*

-i/-si

-atin/-otin in plural, but different singular endings

Reduplication of final root syllable

-ik

-ub

-oti in singular and -otin in plural.

-at

-it/-enit

-syo (-si0 a variant spelling).

-i, -o, -e- in SG and -o/, -y0 (-i0) in PL.

-u/y in SG and -isea (-isia/-isya)

Each of these suffixes are dealt with below. There is no logical way of tabling these suffixes.

Note that the usual noun prefix (ny-) is the primary way of signalling the nominalization process.

2.2.1. EXAMPLES OF STATIVE AND MANNER NOMINALIZATIONS

Stative and manner nominalizations are especially noticeable when tone changes on the nominalized verb within a clause than when the same verbal noun is articulated in isolation (see example 68 below). The best way to test whether a verbal noun is a manner noun is by constructing

sentences such as: 'his ... is good/bad'; 'his ... is difficult'; 'it is good ... of Peter" and 'his ... captivates me' (see example 68 below). These constructions are helpful because the stative nominalization with the suffix -e is the same form as that of manner. It is by this construction that one can differentiate these two kinds of nominalizations as they are used in context.

We will present a few examples to exemplify both stative and manner nominalizations.

The example (68) is describing the habit or way of eating. Thus it is manner nominalization which is in focus.

If the manner is emphasized, the tone on the nominalized verb will be HMML as shown in the example (68) below. However *nyekimuje* in isolation or when stative is emphasized, the tone is HMMH (69).

- (68) e -jok ny-é-ki -muj-è ka Namuya.
 3S-good NP-F-NOM-eat-MAN/StA of Namuya.
 'The eating (manner) of Namuya is good.'

(69) a -bu nai ki -syau ny-e-ki -muj-e
 3S-come then SEQ-begin NP-F-NOM-eat-MAN/STA
 ny-a-kiriŋ na i -wa -it -ae.
 NP-F-meat which 3S-keep-perf-PASS.
 'Then he came and began to eat the meat which had
 been kept.'

(70) e -mina-si ŋ -u-tuŋa daan ny-e-ker-e keŋ.
 3P-love-3P NP-M-people all NP-F-run-MAN/STA his
 'All the people love his running.'

2.2.2 OTHER STATIVE NOMINALIZATIONS

Abstract verbal nouns in this stative group behave differently and have many kinds of suffixes (see section 2.3 below where they have been outlined). Examples of stative nominalized verbs are in the Appendix IV. However, we will present some examples with each suffix. As stated in section 2.3 above, these suffixes are called statives because most of the verbs they are derived from express a state of affairs. Nominalized verbs also behave in the same way.

Note that the stative verbal nouns below do not have the nominalizer *-ki*, but only *ny-* for the SG or *ŋ-* for the PL which become full nominalizers with variant stative suffixes.

2.2.2.1 STATIVE ABSTRACT VERBAL NOUNS with *-is* in SG
and *syo/sea* in PL

(71) e -jok	ny-a-jok -is
3S-good	NP-F-good-STA
'it is good'	'goodness'
(72) e -ron-o	ny-a-ron-is
3S-bad-PERF	NP-F-bad-STA
'It is bad'	'badness'
(73) e -ur	ny-a-ur -is,
3S-smell	NP-F-smell-STA
'It is smelling'	'The smell' or 'Smelling'
(74) e -bos	ny-a-bos-is
3S-rot	NP-F-rot-STA
'It is rotting	'rot', or 'The stench.'
(75) e -mon -a	ny-a-mon-is
3S-hot/stingy-PERF	NP-F-hot/stingy-STA
'It is hot'	'hotness,' or 'stinginess'
Or 's/he is stingy.'	

Example (76) below is showing how two verbal nouns (boldtyped) with *-is* suffixes are used in real life situation. Note, the verb stems are *-ron-* 'bad' and *-jok-* 'good' respectively.

(76) Ny-i-toon daan ni e -ron-o, e -rop -io
 NP-D-person any who 3s-bad-PERF, 3s-reward-IMPF
 iŋes daŋ ka ny-a-ron-is, nika -jok -on daŋ
 him also with NP-F-bad-STA, which-good-NS also
 e -rop -io ka ny-a-jok -is."
 3s-reward-IMPF with NP-F-good-STA

"Any person who is bad, he will also be rewarded with badness,
 He who is good, will also be rewarded with goodness." (Schroeder,
 1993: 22)

2.2.2.2 Stative Abstract Verbal Nouns with -y and -u/-ou

Some words in examples (77)-(83) are marked with *.
 This is to alert the reader that -y plays a role in
 strengthening *ny-* as a nominalizer. Without -y, *ny-* functions
 as a negative marker. So is *nyabob* when -ou (see second
 part of of 79) is not affixed, *ny-* functions as a negator.
 That is, *nyalilim* without -y, will be 'I am not cold.'
 Though -y is not a Nominalizer, its presence serves to
 change the function of *ny-*. (Some examples below have both
 short and long ways of articulating the same word). Note
 that example (79) is the only exception of these examples.
 It is not starred because the root *bob* does not take
 voiceless (-y) when negated.

(77) ny-a-lilim-u*
 NP-F-cool -STA
 'coolness'

(78) ny-a-bityaŋ-u*
 NP-F-stupid-STA
 'stupidity', 'craziness'

(79) ny-a-abo	-u /	ny-a-bob	-ou
NP-F-sweet-STA		NP-F-sweet-STA	
'sweetness, 'tastiness', 'generosity			

(80) ny-a-adeŋ	- <u>u</u> *	ny-a-dedeŋ- <u>u</u> *
NP-F-fierce-STA		NP-F-fierce-STA
fierceness'		

(81) ny-a-didiŋ -u*
 NP-F-narrow-STA
 'narrowness'

(82) ny-a-baaŋ -u*
 NP-F-stupid-STA
 'stupidity'

Example:

(83) ny-a-bityaŋu kaŋ ŋ- a-kiro nu daani.
 NP-F-stupid my NP-F-matters these all
 'All these matters [happened] because of my stupidity.'

2.2.2.3 Stative Verbal Nouns with -ou in SG -osyo in

PL

This class of statives verbal nouns are rare.

- (88) ny-a-ar -anut
 NP-F-kill-STA
 'killing, murder'
- (89) ny-a-beny -anut
 NP-F-provoke-STA
 'provocation, offensiveness, insolence'
- (90) ny-a-ita -anut
 NP-F-sharp-STA
 'pointedness, sharpness'
- (91) ny-a-jaka -anut
 NP-F-prosper-STA
 'wealth (goods), prosperity (goods)'

Usage in text:

- (92) e-ya-i ny-a-ar -anut lo -re ka Napuyo.
 3S-is-IMPF NP-F-kill-STA LOC-village of Napuyo
 'There is a killing in the village of Napuyo.'

(This (92) refers to a killing or murder which had taken place sometime back. This could be taken as a kind of personification of murder or killing, seen as existing in Napuyo's village. It does not mean some people are being killed at the time the speaker is talking.)

2.2.2.5 STA VN with -anu/-anu and anu/-onu/-onu

There are many forms with these suffixes. There are no plural derivations for this group, only singulars.

(93) ny-e-kulwak-anu
 NP-M-poor -STA
 'Poverty (no cattle)'

(94) ny-a-cwa -anu
 NP-F-perceive-STA
 'Perceptiveness, good sightedness'

(95) ny-a-gum -anu
 NP-F-shoot-STA
 'Accuracy of aim', 'unfailing aim', 'being a good shot',
 'sharp-shooter'

(96) ny-a-mut -onu
 NP-F-dense-STA
 'density'

Examples from text:

(97) kisi-kar-i ny-e-kulwak -anu.
 CAUS-die-IMPF NP-M-poverty-STA
 'Lack of cattle can cause you to die of famine.'

Note that the pronoun *iñesi* is sometimes used as a verb 'to be' (see example 98).

(98) ny-a-mut -onu ka nyamoni iñesi
 NP-F-dense-STA of forest 3S-is
 i -to -woliy-or -i iñesi.
 3S-SEQ-lost -ABL-PERF him
 'The density of the forest is what made him get lost.'

2.2.2.6 Stative Verbal nouns with *-i/-si*

- (99) ny-a-pod-i
 NP-F-sad-STA
 'Sadness'
- (100) ny-a-poti -si
 NP-F-heavy-STA
 'Heaviness'
- (101) ny-a-pot-i
 NP-F-pregnant-STA
 'Pregnancy'
- (102) ny-a-nas-i
 NP-F-extol-STA
 'Extolling as to impart courage'
- (103) ny-e-murwo-si
 NP-M-charm-STA
 'Medicine (given by traditional healer), charm (given by diviner)'

Example from text:

- (104) Ki -boy-i ca ny-a-beru, to-potiu,
 SEQ-sit-PERF just NP-F-woman, SEQ-become-pregnant,
 a -misik -ini -to ŋ -u-tuŋa daani ny-a-poti
 3P-consider-PERF-PL NP-M-people all NP_F-pregnant
 ŋina, a -baa -si ny-e-kile keŋe e -uri -kin-it.
 that, 3P-think-PL NP-M-man hers 3S-pregnate-BEN-PERF
 'The woman lived, then she became pregnant, and the people did not consider (notice) this pregnancy thinking that her husband had impregnated her.' (Schroeder 1993: 80).

(In (104) *amisikinito* brings the idea of 'did not consider' though there is no negative morpheme.)

2.2.3 STATIVE VERBAL NOUNS LACKING PHONOLOGICAL UNIFORMITY IN THEIR SUFFIXES

There are a number of nominalized verb morphemes that are stative in function, but have no phonological uniformity. We present a collection below. Some in this group have a uniform pattern in the plurals and not in the singular.

2.2.3.1 Stative Verbal nouns with different endings in SG and -*anotin* in PL

The suffixes *-anotin* combines *-an-*, which has been glossed in other part of this paper as a noun suffix (NS). With *-otin* which is the suffix attached to the NS. But it makes no sense at this point for *-an* to be a noun suffix. *-anotin* is glossed as a stative suffix in this section.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| (105) ny-a-kolip | ɲ -a-kolip -anotin |
| NP-F-barren | NP-F-barren-STA |
| 'Barren cow/ barren female' | 'Barren (pl.)' |
|
 | |
| (106) ny-e-kulwok-it | ɲ -i-kulwak-anotin |
| NP-M-poor -PERF | NP-M-poor -STS |
| 'Poor person (no cattle)' | |
|
 | |
| (107) ny-e-muduk _i | ɲ -i-muduk-anotin |
| NP-M-blind | NP-M-blind-STA |
| 'The blind' | |

2.2.3.3 STA VN with *-it/-it_i* and *-enit*

In this group the perfective (or Completive thought system) is combined with stative. The next two subsections are behaving in the same manner.

- (114) ny-a-kuryan ny-a-kuryan-it
 NP-F-fear NP-F-fear -PERF/STA
 'Fear'
- (115) ny-a-lil -it
 NP-F-anger-PERF/STA
 anger,
- (116) ny-e-bar -it_i
 NP-M-rich-PERF/STA
 'Riches, wealth (cattle), prosperity (cattle)'
- (117) ny-a-nap -enit
 NP-F-dress-PERF/STA
 'Fashion, dressing up'
- (118) ny-e-gyel-it
 NP-M-sell-PERF/STA
 'Exchange, sale'

Examples from text:

- (119) Ta -pal -iki_i ny-a-kuryan -it
 SEQ-give-up-BEN NP-F-cowardliness-NS
 'Give up [your] fearfulness!' (Schroeder, 1993: 107).

- (120) e -jok ny-e-gyel-it ka ŋuumwa kalo
 3S-good NP-M-sell-PERF/STA of sorghum at
 Kapwata.
 Kapwata
 'The sale of sorghum is good at Kapwata.'

2.2.3.4 STA VN with -i

See explanation from the section preceding this for the explanation the combination of PERF/STA.

- (121) ny-e-gyel-i
 NP-M-sell-PERF/STA
 'Price'

Example:

- (122) ikoni ny-e-gyel -i ai?
 how NP-M-price-PERF/STA ?
 'How is the price?'

2.2.3.5 STA VN with -sya/syo/(-sia/-sio) in PL

- (123) ny-e-bar-i ŋ -i-bar -i -sya,
 NP-M-rich-PERF/STA NP-M-rich-PERF-STA
 'Wealth (cattle), riches (cattle), possessions (cattle)'
- (124) ny-e-pon -e ŋ -i-pon -i -syo
 NP-M-mark-MAN/STA NP-M-mark-PERF-STA
 'Earmark (clan-mark)'
- (125) ny-a-geor ŋ -a-geor-o -syo
 NP-F-pick NP-F-pick-PERF-STA
 'Picked fruit'

- (126) a -yau Najore ŋ-a-ger -o -syo kana moni.
 3S-bring Najore NP-F-pick-PERF-STA from wilderness
 'Najore has brought the picked fruit from the wilderness.'

2.2.3.6 STA VN with -nu/-u in SG and -isea in PL

- (127) ny-a-lyeko-nu, ny-a-lyeko-u, ŋ -a-lyekon-isea,
 NP-F-lie -STA, NP-F-lie -STA NP-F-lie -STA
 'A lie'

- (128) Ani e -rum -ori, tem-a -si
 When 3S-finish-PERF, say-PERF-PL
 lu -keta-sapan -ak, «To -boŋ -u -tu ikwa
 those-AG-initiate-PL "SEQ-return-IMPF-PL just
 ny-a-lyeko-u!»
 NP-F-lie -STA ."

'When (the beating of initiates) was finished, the initiators said, «Return, it was only a lie (just as if nothing has happened)!» (Schroeder, 1993: 103)'

(This example (128) describes a ritual whereby the initiates are supposed to undergo a beating to test bravery. After the beating is over, the initiators begin to speak calling the initiates back, claiming that they didn't beat them; it was just a mere teasing.)

2.3. OBJECTIVE NOMINALIZATION

"Some languages have an affix which forms nouns designating the result, or the typical or 'cognate', object of an action ...'(Comrie and Thompson 1985:355). These kinds of verbal nouns form another category of nominalization, objective nominalization. These involve a morphological process in that a noun prefix and gender markers are added to the verbal stem in that order. My reason for having this as a separate group is because the verbal noun refers to the results of the very act of the verb from which it is derived. These forms behave like non-derived nouns. I call them 'semi-normal' verbal nouns. They can function in a sentence in the same way as non-verbal nouns. These derivations do not take the nominalizer *ki-*; rather they only take a noun prefix (*ny-*).

Formula

NP-GN-Vst-> N_{OBJECTIVE OF V}

Some derived and in text examples are given below.

- (129) ny-e-tic
 NP-M-work
 'Work' (n)
- (130) e -mam ny-e-tic e -ya-i.
 3S-no NP-M-work 3S-is-IPMF
 'There is no work.'
- (131) ny-e-rika
 NP-M-hunt
 'The hunt' (n)
- (132) a -yak-a -si ŋ -i-kilyok ny-e-rika.
 3P-go -PERF-3P NP-M-men NP-M-hunt
 'The men are gone hunting.'
- (133) ny-a-remo
 NP-F-hate
 'Hatred, war time, enmity'
- (134) e -leleb-uni ny-a-remo ny-a-kop neni daan.
 3S-full -VENN NP-F-war NP-F-earth over all.
 'Fighting is full everywhere in the world.'

(Appendix VII has more derived nouns for this group).

CHAPTER 3

3. PARTICIPANT NOMINALIZATION

It is in participant nominalization that most of the complexities are found. There are many affixes which function to derive the various verbal nouns. It is the goal of this section to describe all the morphological processes that are taking place. The various roles of participant nominalizations are agent, patient/purpose, instrument, location, product, ablative and ventive (allative).

3.1. AGENT NOMINALIZATION

Agent Nominalization refers to the agent indicator. Besides the usual noun prefix *ny-* for SG and *ŋ-* for PL, gender marker *e-/a-* comes after *ny-*. Then, we have *-ke-* or *ka-* (agent marker) in addition. There is also an affix (*-an* or *-on*) at the end of the nominalized verb. The word *ny-e-ke-muj-an* 'glutton' or *ny-e-ke-tic-on* 'worker' exemplify the point above. See more in the examples below. (This is a doing agent).

The doer agent nominalization can be presented by two formulae. The first is for Agent and the second is for the causer.

1. NP-GP-{(ke)(ka)}-Vst-{{{(an)(on)}}}→ N_{AGENT of V}

2. NP-GP-ke{(si)(su)(to)(ta)(te)}-Vst-{(an)(on)}→ N_{CAUSER of V}

Note also that these formulae can apply to both singular and plural verbal nouns from this group, only that the plural affix has to be substituted accordingly. The plural agent suffix for verbal nouns take -ak/-ok. The forms are determined by the morphology of the verbs. -ak is the representative allomorph because it is the more common. There is no rule to follow when to use which of the two allomorphs just as with the singular (see Appendix VI).

Here are some examples to show the derived nouns and textual usage of agent nominals.

(135) ny-e-ke-ud	-an	ŋ -i-ke-ud	-ak
NP-F-AG-gather-SG		NP-F-AG-gather-PL	
The gatherer' /		'The gatherers'	
'the one who gathers'			

the one who causes another agent to perform an action.

Note that these agent prefixes are not substitutable, save in case of free variation which sometimes occurs with kesu- and kesi- in some context.

Examples illustrating the causer agent are given here below.

- (141) ny-e-kesu-muj-an η -i-kesu-muj-ak
 NP-F-AG -eat-SG NP-F-AG -eat -PL
 'The one who feeds 'Those who feed others'
- (142) Namuya ines ny-e-kesu-muj-an η -i-de.
 Namuya 3S-is NP-F-AG -eat-SG NP-D-children.
 'Namuya is the feeder of children.'
- (143) ny-e-kesi-tic -on η -i-kesi-tic -ok
 NP-M-AG -work-SG NP-F-AG -work-PL
 'Employer/foreman' 'Employer'
- (144) e -ra-i Namuya ny-e-kesi-tic -on ka η -i-ke-tic -ok.
 3S-is-IMPF Namuya NP-M-AG -work-NS of NP-M-AG-work-PL
 'Namuya is a foreman of the workers.'
- (145) ny-e-keta-nap -an η -i-keta-nap -ak
 NP-F-AG -dress-SG NP-F-AG -dress-PL
 'The man who dresses 'The men who dress others'
 others, dresser '
- (146) a -bu ny-e-keta-nap -an na -keru.
 3S-come NP-F-AG -wear-SG Loc-dancingplace.
 'The dresser has come to the dancing place.'
- (147) ny-e-kete-per -on η -i-kete-per -ok
 NP-M-AG -sleep-SG NP-M-AG -sleep-PL
 'The one who make 'Those who make others sleep'
 others sleep'

- (148) ny-e-keto-boly-an η -i-keto-boly-ak
 NP-F-AG -play-SG NP-F-AG -play-PL
 'The one who makes Those who make others play'
 others play'
- (149) ny-e-ke-tatam-an ηol ines ny-e-keto-boly-an
 NP-F-AG-teach-SG that 3S-is NP-F-AG -play-NS
 ka ηide.
 of children.
 'That teacher is the one who makes the children
 play.'

3.2. PATIENT AND PURPOSE NOMINALIZATION

Toposa Pat./purp. nominalizations are morphological. In Toposa patient "derived nominal refers to an entity according to some event [the] entity [had or will be] involved..." (Payne 1997: 225). Patient and purpose nominalizations are signaled by the same morphemes. Purpose nominal expresses the intention the given object is for, and these in Toposa are expressed together as patient or purpose by the same suffixes.

Patient/purpose nominalizations has at least three suffixes that are clear in their usage. We have the declarative (non-directional) suffixes {(-at)/(-ot)}/{(-a)/(-o)}; the ventive suffixes -una/-uno; and the Ablative suffixes -ara/-oro. Declarative does not involve any direction, it simply declares the purpose of the patient.

Ventive patient/purpose nominalizations involve direction toward the speaker, whereas Ablative involves direction away from the speaker. Note the declarative nominalization may not necessarily convert into either ventive or ablative nominals. That is, declarative suffixes may not be affixed to those of ventive or ablative nominals, but the ventive (allative) suffixes can be affixed in place of the ablative suffixes and vice versa. Therefore, we may have the possibility to convert some of the declaratives into patient/purpose nominals.

Ventive and ablative patient/purpose nominal suffixes can be exchanged because they are directional.

The usual noun prefix (ny-) and the gender marker (Gn) are prefixed to the verbal stem in that order. The suffixes marking patient nominalization are:

-{(at)/-(ot)}/{-(a)/-(o)} (Declarative)

-{(una)}/{-(uno)}; (Ventive)

-{(ara)}/{-(oro)}; (Ablative)

Comparing purpose/patient to product nominalizations we find the difference is that the former is focused on purpose or patient and the latter expresses the results of action done before.

Both morphemes express purpose or declare the patient or purpose.

3.2.1 DECLARATIVE (NON DIRECTIONAL) PATIENT AND PURPOSE NOMINALIZATION

3.2.1.1 -at/-ot Derivation noun

Patient and purpose non-directional nominals have two formulae. The first one is as follows:

NP-GN-Vst-{-at/(-ot)} → N_{PATIENT/PURPOSE} V Declarative

Nouns formed by means of these strategies are usually clefted (fronted) for emphasis, thematization, or topicalization. The typical feature in patient or purpose nominalization is the use of demonstratives.

Nominalized verbs can only occupy two positions: they can be fronted or occupy the position following the subject slot in the normal Toposa constituent order (VSO) (see examples (152-55) and others following).

These examples show derived nouns.

(150) ny-e-aar -at

NP-M-kill-PA/PURP

'Animal purposed to be killed'

(151) ny-e-rem-ot

NP=M-pierce-PA/PURP

'Animal, etc., meant for piercing or hurling a spear at.'

-at/-ot Sentence examples

(152) ny-e-aar -at ny-e-moŋ lo.
 NP-F-kill-PA/PURP NP-M-bull this.
 'This bull is for killing.'

(153) ny-e-rem -ot ny-e-moŋ ye.
 NP-F-spear-PA/PURP NP-M-ox that.
 'That ox is for spearing.'

-at/-ot plus lo- and na-

Another way of referring to the patient/purpose nominalization is with the use of *lo-* and *na-* prefixes. Earlier in section 1.8, we mentioned that these two morphemes have several usages including as relative pronouns. These morphemes also have other functions not only as locatives but as relative pronouns to nominalized verbs retaining the patient/purpose suffixes. Thus, when the patient/purpose nominalization occurs in the complement of a relative phrase, the relative markers (*lo-/na*) replace *ny-*. We will give it X gloss at this point to avoid confusing it with the locative usages of the same morphemes. *Lo-* and *na-* usage is kind of a qualifier of the subject of the main verb.

See the following examples:

(154) ai e -ya-i ny-e-koroe lo-gyel-at.
 where 3S-is-IMPF NP-M-ram X -Sell-PA/PURP
 'Where is the ram which is for sale?'

(155) nyani ny-a-ate na-rem-ot.
 where NP-F-bull -buy -PA/PURP
 'Where is the cow which is for spearing.'

3.2.1.2 Second Formual—Declarative -a/-o

The second formula of the non directional patient is:

2. NP-GN-ki-Vst-{{(a)/(o)}}→N_{PATIENT/PURPOSEof V} Declarative

These two verbal nouns below take the -a/-o allomorphs of -at-ot. These examples show the derived forms.

(156) ny-a-ki -muj-a
 NP-F-NOM-eat-PA/PURP
 'Something for eating'

(157) ny-e-ki -doj -o
 NP-M-NOM-pound-PA/PURP
 'Animal for castrating by means of pounding the testes.'

3.2.1.5 -a/-o Sentence Examples

The English glossing for these patient nominalizations does not bring out the meaning well. In Toposa the patient feature is quite clear. The idea in Toposa patient/purpose nominalization is expressing what will be done on that

particular object. In example 158, one might be answering the question, what is to be done to the porridge?.

(158) ny-a-ki -muj-a ny-a-tap na.
 NP-F-NOM-eat-PA/PURP NP-F-porridge this.
 'This porridge is to be eaten.'

(159) ny-e-ki-don-o ny-e-koroe lo
 NP-M-NOM-pound NP-M-ram this
 'This ram is for pounding.'

3.2.1.6 -a/-o Plus lo-/na- Sentence examples

(160) yau ny-a-kirin na-ki -muj-a lo -tyam.
 bring NP-F-meat X -NOM-eat-PA/PURP LOC-sittingplace
 'Bring the meat for eating to the sitting place.'

(161) ki -twar -utu ny-e-koroe lo-ki -don -o
 SEQ-bring-VEN/PL NP-M-ram X -NOM-pound-PA/PURP
 lore
 LOC-village
 'Bring the ram for pounding to the village.'

(Toposa pound the testes of animals for the sake of fattening them and for culling to let better rams remain for production.)

3.2.2 VENTIVE PA/PURP NOMINALIZATION

3.2.2.1 -una/-uno Derivation

The third formula is for the derivation of the ventive patient/purpose nominals.

3. NP-GN-Vst-(ki-){(-una)/(-uno)}→N_{PATIENT/PURPOSE} V Ventive

These examples (162-3) show derived forms.

(162) ny-e-gyel-una

NP-M-buy -V/PA/PURP

'The bought one.'

(163) ny-e-rik -uno

NP-M-lead-V/PA/PURP

'The pulled one/ War captive integrated into a Toposa family.'

3.2.2.2 Sentence examples

As earlier mentioned, the patient normally is fronted or occupies the position after the subject slot in the Toposa constituent order. These examples (164-5) also illustrate that point as well.

(164) e -ra-i ny-e-koroe lo ny-e-gyel-una

3S-is-PERF NP-M-ram this NP-M-buy -V/PA/PRUP

'This ram was bought.' (Lit. This ram is bought one).

- (165) ny-a-rik -uno ny-a-pese na.
 NP-M-lead-V/PA/PURP NP-F-girl this
 'This girl is a (war) captive.'

3.2.2.3 -una/-uno plus lo-/na- Sentence

Examples

Examples (166-7) take the relative pronouns as earlier mentioned.

- (166) ta -ramu ny-e-mon lo-gyel-una naalo.
 SEQ-bring NP-M-bull X -buy -V/PA/PURP here
 'Bring the bought bull here where I am.'

- (167) ta -ram -a ŋ -a atuk na-gyel-una ama
 SEQ-take-PERF/ABL NP-F-cows X -sell-V/PA/PURP there
 'Take the bought cows over there.'

3.2.3. Ablative PA/PURP Nominalizations

3.2.3.1 Derivation

The fourth formula given below is for deriving ablative directional verbal nouns of patient/purpose.

4. NP-GN-Vst-(ki-){-(ara)/-(oro)}→N_{PATIENT/PURPOSE V} Ablative

Derived examples:

- (168) ny-a-rem -oro.
 NP-F-hurl-A/PA/PURP
 'Something (e.g., spear) to be hurled away.'

- (169) ny-a-gyel-ara
 NP-F-sell-A/PA/PURP
 'Something (purposed) to be sold.'

3.2.3.2 Sentence Examples

- (170) e -ra-i ny-a-kwara na ny-a-rem -oro.
 3S-is-IMPF NP-F-spear this NP-F-hurl-A/PA/PURP
 'This spear is for hurling.'

- (171) ny-a-gyel-ara ny-a-kine na.
 NP-F-sell-A/PA/PURP NP-F-goat this.
 'This goat is for sale.'

3.2.3.3 -ara/-oro plus lo-/na- in Derivation

Patient/purpose nominal are specifically sort identified when relative pronouns are affixed to them. This specific identity is more salient in a sentence or discourse (see 175-6).

- (172) lo-gyel-ara
 X -sell-A/PA/PURP
 'Something to be sold.'

- (173) lo-rem -oro
 X -hurl-A/PA/PURP
 'Something to be hurled away.'

- (174) na-ki -cul-ara
 X -NOM-pay-A/PA/PURP
 'Animal given away as payment for adultery or impregnating a girl.'

3.2.3.4 -ara/-oro plus lo-/na- in sentence examples:

(175) ta -ram -a -si ŋ -a-atuk na-ki -cul-ara
 SEQ-take-PERF-PL NP-F-cows X -NOM-pay-A/PA/PURP
 ta -dak -a
 SEQ-graze-IMPF
 'Take 'compensation' cows to graze.'

(176) nyani ny-a-kwara na-rem -oro?
 Where NP-F-spear X -hurl-A/PA/PURP
 'Where is the spear which is for hurling?'

3.3. INSTRUMENTAL NOMINALIZATION

This is perhaps the most clear case of nominalization in Toposa for it cannot be confused with any other types of nominalization. This is marked by *-et*, affixed to the verbal stem. Instrumental nominalization can also take *ki-* (see Section 1.8 on which others do and don't take this morpheme in nominalized verbs).

Formula

NP-GN-(-ki-)Vst-et → N_{INSTRUMENTAL} of v

Compare the following forms:

(177) e -mas -i	ny-e-mas -et
3S-drink-PERF	NP-M-drink-INST
'He is drinking'	Instrument for drinking'

- (178) ny-a-mas -et ny-a-are na.
 NP-M-drink-INST NP-F-calabash this.
 'This calabash is for drinking.'
- (179) i -kosikos-i ny-e-ki -kosikos-et
 3S-whisk -PERF NP-F-NOM-whisk -INST
 'He is whisking' 'Whisking Instrument' (e.g., 'tail')
- (180) "i-kwa kolon pa -i -yen -i iyon nyatamar
 3S-so then NEG-3S-know-IMPF you that
 i -ki -ina -akin-i kolon iyon Nyakuj ny-e-lado
 3S-NOM-give-BEN -IMPF then you God NP-M-tail
 e -ra-i ny-e-ki -kosikos-et njicucu a?"
 3S-is-IMPF NP-M-NOM-whisk -INST flies ?
 (Schroeder 1992: 21).
 'So then, you did not know that God gave you (cow)
 the tail for whisking away flies.'
- (181) i-muj-i ny-a-ki-muj-et
 3S-eat-PER NP-F-NOM-eat-INST
 'He is eating' 'Something for eating (e.g., spoon,
 plate etc)'
- (182) ny-a-ki -muj-et nyakaloboc na.
 NP-F-NOM-eat-INST spoon this.
 'This (wooden) spoon is for eating.'
- (183) e -ped-i ny-e-ped -yet
 3S-drill-IMPF NP-F-drill-INST
 'He will drill' 'The drill'
- (184) e -yeaun-i nyikoku ny-e-ped -yet.
 3S-bring-IMPF child NP-F-drill-INST.
 'The child will bring the drill.'
- (185) i -pen -i ny-e-ki -pen -et
 3S-sharpening-PERF NP-F-NOM-sharpening-INST
 'He is sharpening' 'Sharpener'

(186) e -lem -a Lokuuda ny-e-ki -pen -et.
 3S-take-PERF Lokuuda NP-F-NOM-sharp-INST.
 'Lokuuda has taken the sharpener.'

3.4. LOCATION NOMINALIZATION

In the introduction section 1.8 we presented nominalizers *lo-/na-/ni-* which serve various functions. These prefixes are nominalizers which demonstrate location. The *ni-* form is not used on verbal derived nouns.

Note also that these prefixes cannot take the noun prefix *ny-*. The verbal nouns from this group are either masculine (signaled by *lo-*) or feminine (signaled by *na-*). They can occur with the nominalizer *ki-*.

The formula is:

$$\{(lo-)(na-)\}(ki-)-Vst \rightarrow N_{\text{LOCATION of } V}$$

Verbal nouns from this group have variant suffixes which cannot be easily classified. Some can take stative, instrumental, or other suffixes covered elsewhere in this paper.

These examples are cited in such a way that a verb is given first followed by the derived nouns.

(187) i -boy-i	na -ki -boy-is
3S-sit-PERF	LOC-NOM-sit-STA
'S/he is sitting'	'The sitting place'

(188) e -ya η -i-kilyok na -ki -bo -is.

3S-are NP-M-men LOC-NOM-sit-STA.

'The men are in the sitting place.'

(189) e -per -i na -per -it

3S-sleep-PERF LOC-sleep-PERF

'S/he is sleeping' 'The sleeping/camping place'

(190) e -per -e -te η -i-kilyok na -per -it.

3P-sleep-PERF-3P NP-M-men LOC-sleep-PERF

'The men are sleeping in the camp.'

(191) a -dok -a lo -dok -et

3S-climb-PERF LOC-climb-INST

'S/he is climbing' 'Port, roadstead, on river bank'

(192) a-ηol na -ηol -et

3S-slaughter LOC-slaughter-INS

'S/he has slaughtered' 'Slaughter place'

(193) a -naη -ut η -a-atuk na -ηol -et.

3P-reach-VEN NP-F-cows LOC-slaughter-INST

'The cows have reached the slaughter place.'

(The slaughter place talked about here is a ritual slaughter place. After a given period of time, usually about seven to ten years, the Toposa perform a certain ritual to cleanse the cows from impurities of all kinds, such as diseases, curses, spells and so on. Where this happens is called *naηolet*.)

(194) "Ani robo ki -wou -uni-tor ntuŋa kon,
 if then SEQ-refuse-BEN-3S people your,
 ta-ar -aki·robo ny-e-moŋ lokupurat
 SEQ-kill-Ben then NP-M-bull pink
 lo -dok -et loka nyecori·, lo
 LOC-climb-INST of river, which
 i -toru-uni-e -te ŋibaren e -pot -e
 3P-pass-Ben-PERF-3S livestock 3P-come-PERF
 lo -cori." i
 LOC-river.

(Schroeder 1992: 11).

'If then you do not want your people (to die), then you kill a pink bull in the port (roadstead) where livestock usually pass through when they come to the river for water.'

(195) e -per -i na -per -it
 3S-sleep-IMPF LOC-sleep-PERF
 'He is sleeping' 'Sleeping place'

(196) e -per -e -te ŋ-i- kily-ok na- per -it.
 3P-sleep-IMPF-PL NP-M-men -PL LOC/F-sleep-PERF
 'The men are sleeping in the sleeping place.'

3.5. PRODUCT NOMINALIZATION

Product nominalization in Toposa is realized through morphological changes in the verbal noun. The general idea of product nominalization is that the derived noun is a direct result of the action done on the patient. For example, when someone has bitten another person, the bitten one is presented (morphologically) differently than in any other forms of nominalization. Therefore we posit

another category of nominalization. This kind of nominalization is signaled by the morphemes *-aat* or *-oot*. The product has to do with bodily marks which result from actions done to the body, such as a scratch, a bite, a beating and so on. Thomas Payne describes this as "the product or result of an event described by a verb root" (Payne 1997: 229). There is a limited usage of this type of nominalization in Toposa.

The formula for Product nominalization:

$$\text{NP+GN+Vst+}\{(-\text{aat}) (-\text{oot})\}\longrightarrow\text{N}_{\text{PRODUCT OF V}}$$

See sentence examples:

(197) e -ryeb-i Namuya ny-a-rum -aat.

3S-pain-PERF Namuya NP-F-catch-PROD

'The chronic pain is hurting Namuya.'

(198) e -but ny-a-rem -oot.

3S-swell NP-F-pierce-PROD

'The pierced wound is swelling.'

(199) a -duŋ-i Napuyo Lomana ŋ -a-duŋ-eto

3S-cut-PERF Napuyo Lomana NP-F-cut-PROD

ŋ -a-uni lo -reet.

NP-F-three LOC-face.

'Napuyo cut Lomana three cuttings on the face.'

3.6 DIRECTIONAL (ABLATIVE & ALLATIVE) NOMINALIZATIONS

In section 3.2 we discussed about ablative and ventive citing them with directional patient/purpose nominalizations.

These are purely directional verbal nouns. The direction is either movement away from (Ablative) or toward (Ventive/allative) the speaker.

The suffixes are:

- uni (Ventive)
- ori/ari (Ablative)

The formulae:

1. NP-GN-Vst-uni-> N_{VENTIVE OF V}
2. NP-GN-Vst-{-ori}/{-ari}->N_{ABLATIVE OF V}

The variation in ablative form depends on the verb's phonological shape. With verbs, directions are signalled primarily by -o/-u but -a with some verbs. These forms are suffixed to the verb stem. Toposa does not let one guess in what direction the action is moving. However, in English, 'S/he has returned', one cannot tell whether the direction was away from the speaker or toward the speaker. We see that Toposa is quite precise, as illustrated by the examples below.

These verbs (200-1) and verbal nouns (202-5) demonstrate

direction of movement:

(200) a -boŋ -u
 3S-return-VEN/PERF
 'S/he has returned' (Ventively)

(201) a -boŋ -o
 3S-return-ABL/PERF
 'S/he has returned' (Ablatively)

Example 202 shows movement toward the speaker and 203 movement away from the speaker.

(202) a -wou Namuya ny-a-boŋ -uni lokal.
 3S-refuse Namuya NP-F-return-VEN home.
 'Namuya has refused to come back home.'

(203) a -wou Namuya ny-a-boŋ -ori lokal.
 3S-refuse Namuya NP-F-return-ABL home
 'Namuya has refused to go back home.'

The focus of examples (204-5) is on *nyadokuni* and *nyadokari* respectively, showing movement up or down, depending whether the speaker is above or below the place of action.

(204) Ani a-rau -ni ny-a-dok -uni, to -twon -er
 When 3s-become-PERF NP-F-climb-VEN SEQ-difficult-RES
 ny-a-kar ki -boy -e -to nai ny-a-woya-te
 NP-F-well SEQ-stay-PERF-3p then NP-F-long-PERF
 ko -oy -en.
 SEQ-long-PERF.

"When it was time for them to climb out of the well, it became difficult for them, and so they stayed for a long time in it."
 (Schoeder (ed.) 1993: 30)

- (205) a -yak-a Napuyo ny-a-dok -ari lopyemu.
3S-go-ABL/PERF Napuyo NP-F-climb-ABL platform
"Napuyo has gone to climb up on the platform."

CHAPTER 4

4. SEMANTIC AND SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS OF
NOMINALIZATION

There are three main functions of nominalization in Toposa that are most salient in context of usage. These are realized within the contexts where verbal nouns are found in. That is, of the the twelve or so nominalization types, these three functions can be expressed in text material. Toposa expresses purpose, and manner in which something is behaving or done by means of nominalized verbs. Stating a fact could be expressed either by nominalized verb or without it. But the two (purpose and manner) are always expressed by means of nominalized verbs.

Nevertheless, each of the nominalized verbs individually expresses its function and as indicated by its prefix or suffix that the type of nominalization has.

The most common function of verbal nouns as they appear in context is the expression of purpose. The purpose clause expresses the purpose of the main verb of the sentence. Some of the examples used in the earlier part of the paper are repeated below to clarify the point.

Examples (206-7) illustrate how action nominals are used to express purpose. The purpose why people left is to go and eat food (206).

(206) a -yak-a -si ŋ-u- tuŋa ny-a-ki -muj ny-a-ki -muj.
 3P-leave -PERF-3P NP-M-people NP-F-NOM-ea NP-F-NOM-eat
 'The people went to eat food.'

(207) a -yak -a Napuyo ny-a-dok -ari lopyemu.
 3S-leave-ABL/PERF Napuyo NP-F-climb-ABL platform
 "Napuyo left to climb on the platform."

The second major function of nominalization is that of manner. Nominalized verbs can signal manner within the clause.

(208) e -jok ny-e-ku -muj-e ka Namuya.
 3S-good NP-F-NOM-eat-MAN/StA of Namuya.
 'The eating (manner) of Namuya is good.'

(209) e -min -a ny-a-beru ny-a-yewo-re ka Namuya.
 3S-love-PERF NP-F-woman NP-F-sing-MAN/StA of Namuya.
 'The woman loves the singing of Namuya/ The woman loves to sing together with Namuya.'

(210) e -ron-o ny-e-cap -e kon.
 3S-bad-PERF NP-F-weed-MAN/StA your.
 'Your weeding style is bad.'

The third major function of nominalization, though not as common as the two above, is stating facts. The verbal

noun states a fact governed by the main verb.

(211) e -mam ny-e-tic e -ya-i.

3S-no NP-M-WORK 3S-is-PERF

'There is no work available.'

(212) a -wou Namuya ny-a-boŋ -or_i lokal.

3S-refuse Namuya NP-F-return-ABL home

'Namuya has refused to go back home.'

From the examples cited above, we see that any nominalized verbs can semantically function in context as purpose, manner, or stating a fact.

However, individual categories of nominalized verbs, as shown by the morphemes, can semantically function as designated by those morphemes. If it has an instrumental suffix, then the individual nominal with that suffix is meant to be instrument.

Here is a brief treatment of each of the categories above.

Action nominalization, as stated earlier, refers to an event. See examples given below. The presence of *ki-* nominalizer seems to carry the idea of activity. As the name suggests, the function is to show action.

The nominalized verb *nyakimuj* retains the sense action of the verb from which it was derived.

- (213) e -muj-a η-i-de ny-a-ki- muj.
 3S-eat-ABL/PERF NP-D-children NP-F-NOM-eat
 'The children have eaten food.'

Action nominalized verbs can occupy any position in normal Toposa constituent order (VSO). Example (213) above indicates that *nyakimuj* is occupying the position after the subject.

Note that the action nominals can also co-occur with both adjectives and adverbs (e.g., of degree *lowoi* as in the example 214) below. The action nominal can also be fronted as in example (215) below.

Action nominals do not take cardinal numerals (i.e., 1, 2, 3, etc.) but can be referred to in singular, *nyakimuj* 'food' and in plural *ηamuja* 'foods'.

Example (216) shows that action nominals can also take quantifiers.

- (214) e -lal ny-a-ki -muj lowoi.
 3S-much NP-F-NOM-eat very
 'The food is too much.'

- (215) ny-a-ki -muj injesi e-rono.
 NP-F-NOM-eat 3S-is 3S-bad
 'It is the food which is bad.'

- (216) a-ron-er ny-a-ki -muj daan.
 3s-bad-PERF NP-F-NOM-eat all
 'All the food is bad.'

Stative nominalization 'can be said to express states of affairs, rather than action...." (Crystal 1989: 326). Verbs that express a state of affairs when nominalized, still refer to a state not action. An earlier example is repeated here to illustrate our point. There is no single unique morpheme for this kind of nominalization. There are more than ten of them (see section 2.3 of this paper). These nominalizations function to express the state of affairs.

- (217) Ny-i-toon daan ni e -ron-o, e -rop -io
 NP-D-person any who 3s-bad-PERF, 3s-reward-IMPF
 iñes dañ ka ny-a-ron-is, nika -jok -on dañ
 him also with NP-F-bad-STA, which-good-NS also
 e -rop -io ka ny-a-jok -is."
 3s-reward-IMPF with NP-F-good-STA

"Any person who is bad, he will also be rewarded with badness, He who is good, will also be rewarded with goodness." (Schroeder (ed.), 1993: 22).

However, Stative nominals can occupy the subject position and be fronted as well. Example 218 (a nominalized clause) shows the nominalized verbs from the same verb root occupying both the subject and the object positions .

- (218) e -jok ny-a-yew -o η-i- yew -o -syo.
 3S-good NP-F-sing-IMPF NP-M-sing-PERF-PL
 "The singing of songs is good. (It is good to sing songs.)"

Example 219 shows that the nominalized verb can be fronted as the position of *nyabityaŋu* demonstrates.

- (219) ny-a-bityaŋu kaŋ η- a-kiro nu daani.
 NP-F-stupid my NP-F-matters these all
 'All these matters [happened] because of my stupidity.'

Manner Nominalization focuses on habit or tendency, or style as in the example 220 below. The morpheme indicating this kind of nominalization is *-e*, and with other verbs, it is signaled by *-re*. The function of this has been stated above.

We also note in the example 220 below that usual manner nominal position is the Subject position according to the Toposa constituent order (VSO). Example 221 demonstrates *nyabolyare* occupying the object position. Example 222 shows the nominalized verb *nyekimuje* fronted and showing a possessive *keŋ* modifier.

- (220) e -ron-o ny-e-cap -e kon.
 3S-bad-PERF NP-F-weed-MAN/StA your
 'Your weeding style is bad.'

(221) e -mina-si η -i-de ny-a-bolyar-e.
 3P-love-3P NP-D-children NP-F-play -MAN/STA.
 'The children love the play.' Or 'The children love
 playing.'

(222) ny-e-ki -muj-e keη iηesi e-rono.
 NP-M-NOM-eat-MAN/STA his 3S-is 3S-bad
 'His eating (style) is what is bad.'

Agent Nominalization in Toposa refers to the doer and the causer. The doer signaled by *-ka-* or *-ke-*. The causer has: *-kesi-*, *-kesu-*, *-keta-*, *-kete-*, *keto*, seemingly influenced by both the phonology and morphology of the verb stem. In (223) below, *Nyekeudan* is the Doer agent, and *ηaketeperok* (224) is the Causer agents.

Examples 223 & 224 show the nominalized verbs (*nyekeudan* & *ηiketeperok* respectively) occupy the complement or object position.

(223) e -ra-i apa -kaη ny-e-ke-ud -an nyeucur.
 3S-is-PERF father-my NP-F-AG-gather-NS tax.
 'My father is the tax-collector.'

(224) η -a-beru· ikes e -ra -i η -a-kete-per -ok
 NP-F-women ones 3P-are-IMPF NP-F-AG -sleep-PL
 ηide.
 children.
 'The women are the ones who make children sleep.'

(225) ny-e-ke-tatam-an ijesi a-lamar-i nyabuk.
 NP-M-AG-teach-NS 3S-is 3S-take-PERF book
 'The teacher is the one who took the book.'

Agent nominals can also be modified by adjectives and adverbs (e.g., of degree, *lowoi*, as in example 226). (Example 226 shows that Toposa adjectives have personal prefixes just like verbs). Adverb of degree can also come between *ejok* and *nyeketataman* in example (226).

(226) e -jok ny-e-ke-tatam-an yok lowoi.
 3S-good NP-M-AG-teach-NS our very
 'Our teacher is very good.'

Agent nominals can take cardinal numerals (see example 227 below). It also shows the fronting of *nyeketataman* functioning as subject.

(227) a -ya ŋ -i-ke-ud -ak nyeucur ŋuuni ne.
 3P-is NP-M-AG-gatherers-PL tax three here
 'There were three tax-collectors here.'

Patient and Purpose nominalizations expressed acted upon participants. They can be described as either receiving action or being acted on.

We have three patterns of patient/purpose nominalization in Toposa. See more explanation in section 3.2. The

suffixes marking patient nominalization are:

-at/-ot; -a/-o (Declarative)

-una/-uno; (Ventive)

-ara/-oro; (Ablative)

In (228) below, the patient, *nyemoŋ* 'bull' the recipient of an action, is being sold, *nyegyelat*. In (232) the spear is involved in the action, that is, it is being used (i.e., hurled). These affixes function to show what is being done to the patient and for what purpose.

The Patient/purpose nominalization forms normally are fronted but can also occupy the object position as in the examples below.

Note that the root verb *-gyel-* means 'sell/buy'. The suffix tells you whether it is buy (bought), *-(una/-uno)*, or sell (sold) *-(ara/-oro)*, and with *-at* it only declares that something is for buying or for selling. Compare 228, 230, and 233.

(228) *ny-e-gyel-at ny-e-moŋ lo.*

NP-M-sell-STA NP-M-bull this.

'This bull is for sale.'

(229) *nyani ny-a-ate na-rem -ot.*

where NP-F-bull X -spear-PA/PURP

'Where is the cow which is for spearing.'

(230) e -ra-i ny-e-koroe lo ny-e-gyel-una
 3S-is-PERF NP-M-ram this NP-M-buy -V/PA/PURP
 'This ram was bought.' (Lit. This ram is bought
 one).

(231) ny-a-rik -uno ny-a-pese na.
 NP-M-lead-V/PA/PURP NP-F-girl this
 'This girl is a (war) captive.'

(232) e -ra-i ny-a-kwara na ny-a-rem -oro.
 3S-is-IMPF NP-F-spear this NP-F-hurl-A/PA/PURP
 'This spear is for hurling.'

(233) ny-a-gyel-ara ny-a-kine na.
 NP-F-sell-A/PA/PURP NP-F-goat this.
 'This goat is for sale.'

Instrumental nominalization refers to an object used as an instrument. The basic morpheme is *-et*. Other forms are *-yet/-iyet*.

Instrument nominalization can occupy all the positions of normal nouns. They can be fronted, occupy subject (see examples 235) and object slots (236 and 237 below). Example 234 shows *nyepedyet* fronted and the example 235 takes an adjective as well.

(234) ny-ped -yet inesi a -wan -i ny-i-koku.
 NP-drill-INST 3S-is 3S-harm-PERF NP-D-child
 'The drill is what harmed the child.'

- (235) e -nañjur ny-ped -yet ñol.
 3S-blunt NP-drill-INST that.
 'That drill is blunt.'
- (236) e -yeaun-i nyikoku ny-e-ped -yet.
 3S-bring-IMPF child NP-F-drill-INST.
 'The child will bring the drill.'
- (237) e -lem -a Lokuuda ny-e-ki -pen -et.
 3S-take-PERF Lokuuda NP-F-NOM-sharp-INST.
 'Lokuuda has taken the sharpener.'

Locational nominalization is expressed by two gender sensitive morphemes *lo-* (masculine), *na-* (feminine). The usual position for the locative is the position after subject position according to the Toposa constituent order (VSO-VSLOC) (see examples 239 & 241). They can as well take the subject slot (see example 240). Instrumental nominalization cannot take adjectives. They can be referred to in plurals and can take cardinal numerals (see example 241).

- (238) "Ani robo ki -wou -uni-tor ñutunja kon,
 if then SEQ-refuse-BEN-3S people your,
 ta-ar -aki·robo ny-e-mon lokupurat
 SEQ-kill-Ben then NP-M-bull pink
 lo -dok -et loka nyecori·, lo
 LOC-climb-INST of river, which
 i -toru-uni-e -te ñjibaren e -pot -e
 3P-pass-Ben-PERF-3S livestock 3P-come-PERF
 lo -cori·."
 LOC-river.

'If then you do not want your people {to die}, then you kill a pink bull in the port (roadstead) where livestock usually pass

through when they come to the river for water', (Schroeder 1992: 11).

(239) e -per -e -te ŋ-i- kily-ok na- per -it.
 3P-sleep-IMPF-PL NP-M-men -PL LOC/F-sleep-?
 'The men are sleeping in the sleeping place.'

(240) kape na -ki -boy-is kon.
 go LOC-NOM-sit-STA your.
 'You, go to your sittingplace.'

(241) a -lem -a Namuya ŋ -i-ped -yeto ŋikan.
 3S-take-ABL/PERF Namuya NP-M-drill-INST five
 'Namuya has taken five drills.'

Objective Nominalization forms, expressing the result of an action, do not take the nominalizer *ki-*. They do take the noun prefix *ny-* and the gender markers. See more explanation in section 2.3. Their function is described as the object of the action.

Objective nominals behave like typical nouns. They occupy the subject slot (see example 242 below).

(242) e -mam ny-e-tic e -ya-i.
 3S-no NP-M-WORK 3S-is-IPMF
 'There is no work.'

They can also occupy object slot, see (243).

(243) a -yak-a -si ŋ -i-kilyok ny-e-rika.
 3P-go -PERF-3P NP-M-men NP-M-hunt
 'The men are gone hunting.'

Objective nominals take cardinal numerals, see (244).

- (244) i -tic-i Namuya ŋ -i-tic -o ŋierei.
 3S-wok-PERF Namuya NP-M-work-PL two.
 'Namuya has two jobs.' (Lit. Namuya works (v) two works
 (N).')

Objective nominals, as subjects, can also get fronted, and take adjectives and adverbs (see examples 245, and 246 respectively). *Nyetic* is constituent fronted and the same occupying the subject slot.

- (245) ny-e-tic iŋesi e -mam.
 NP-M-work 3S-is 3S-no
 'It is work which is not available.'

- (246) e -jok ny-e-tic lowoi.
 3S-good NP-M-work very.
 'The work is very good.'

Product nominalization describes what is left after the action was done on the patient. It is signaled by -aat/-oot.

Product Nominals function like typical nouns. They can occupy the object position (247).

- (247) e -ryeb-i Namuya ny-a-rum -aat.
 3S-pain-PERF Namuya NP-F-catch-PROD
 'The chronic pain is hurting Namuya.'

They can also occupy the subject position, take adjectives, and adverbs (see (248)).

- (248) e -but ny-a-rem -oot kaŋ lowoi.
 3S-swell NP-F-pierce-PROD
 'My wound (pierced object, e.g., thorn) is very swollen.'

The subject can also be fronted (249) and modified by cardinal numerals (250).

- (249) ny-a-kony-aat iŋesi e -ryeb-i Namuya.
 NP-F-bite-PROD 3S-is 3S-hurt-PERF Namuya.
 'The biting is what is hurting Namuya.'

- (250) a -kony-i ny-i-koku nice ŋ -a-kony-eta ŋauni.
 3S-bite-PERF NP-D-child other NP-F-bite-PROD three.
 'The child bit the other child three times.'

Directional (ventive/allative and ablative) nominalization functions to indicate direction of the action both in normal verbs and in nominalized verbs. Action toward the speaker is signaled by the morpheme *-un_i*; away from the speaker is signaled by *-or_i*/*-ar_i*.

We see from the examples below that directional nominalization can occupy the object positions (251, 252);

be fronted (253); and occupy subject slot and take adjectives (254). They can also take cardinal numerals (255).

(251) a -wou Namuya ny-a-boŋ -ui lokal.
 3S-refuse Namuya NP-F-return-VEN home.
 'Namuya has refused to come back home.'

(252) a -wou Namuya ny-a-boŋ -ori lokal.
 3S-refuse Namuya NP-F-return-ABL home
 'Namuya has refused to go back home.'

(253) ny-a-boŋ -ori tokona kon nyibore en a?
 NP-F-return-ABL now your thing this ?
 'You are now rereturning.' '(Lit. Is this thing now your
 returning back?.'

(254) e -jok ny-a-boŋ -ui e -riŋ -a nyakolon e -cai.
 3S-good NP-F-return-VEN 3S-still-IMPF sun 3S-shine
 'Returning is good when the sun is still shining.'

(255) a -boŋ -u ayon ne ŋ -a-boŋ -une-to
 3S-return-VEN/PERF I here NP-F-return-VEN-PL
 ŋooŋwon.
 four.
 'I returned here four times.' (Lit. I returned here four
 returnings).

CHAPTER 5

5. CONCLUSIONS

This paper is an investigation of the nominalization system in Toposa. The aim is to describe the system.

As we have seen from the body of the paper, Toposa employs nominalization for many purposes. The investigation has revealed twelve means of deriving verbal nouns from Toposa verbs. However, in my discussion I grouped a number of them together. Those grouped together are: patient and purpose nominalizations; ablative and ventive (allative) nominalizations; and manner and stative nominalizations. Some of these, e.g., manner and stative nominalizations, are having different suffixes at some other points. After the above groupings, we are left with nine major means of nominalization. We will give a short summary of the characteristics of each of the nine groups below.

Action Nominalization is characterized by noun prefix *ny-* and the nominalizer *ki-*. See the discussion in section 2.1.

Example:

- (256) a -yak -a ny-i-koku ny-a-ki- ker.
 3S-leave-ABL/PERF NP-D-child NP-F-NOM-run
 'The child has left for a run.'

Manner and Stative Nominalizations are characterized by *ny-*, *ki-*, and *-e*. The *-e* is what joins these two nominalizations. However, without *-e* it becomes Stative function only (see sections 2.2.3 - 2.2.4.6)

Example:

- (257) e -ron-o ny-e-cap -e kon.
 3S-bad-PERF NP-F-weed-MAN/StA your.
 'Your weeding style is bad.'

Agent Nominalization is characterized by *ke-* and *ka-* for the doer of the action and *kesi-* /*kesu-*/ *keta-*/*kete-*/*keto* for the one who causes the doer to do the action.

Example for the doer:

- (258) e -ra-i apa -kaŋ ny-e-ke-ud -an nyeucur.
 3S-is-PERF father-my NP-F-AG-gather-NS tax.
 'My father is the tax-collector.'

Examples for the causer:

- (259) Namuya iŋes ny-e-kesu-muj-an ŋ -i-de.
 Namuya 3S-is NP-F-AG -eat-SG NP-D-children.
 'Namuya is the feeder of children.'

(260) e -ra-i Namuya ny-e-kesi-tic -on ka ŋ -i-ke-tic -ok.
 3S-is-IMPF Namuya NP-M-AG -work-NS of NP-M-AG-work-PL
 'Namuya is a foreman of the workers.'

(261) a -bu ny-e-keta-ŋap -an na -keru.
 3S-come NP-F-AG -wear-SG Loc-dancingplace.
 'The dresser has come to the dancing place.'

(262) ny-e-ke-tatam-an ŋol iŋes ny-e-keto-boly-an
 NP-F-AG-teach-SG that 3S-is NP-F-AG -play-NS
 ka ŋide.
 of children.
 'That teacher is the one who makes the children
 play.'

Patient and Purpose Nominalizations are characterized

by -at/-ot and -a/-o.

Examples:

(263) ny-e-gyel-at ny-e-moŋ lo.
 NP-M-sell-PA/PURP NP-M-bull this.
 'This bull is for sale.'

(264) e -ra-i ny-a-kwara na ny-a-remo-ro.
 3S-is-IMPF NP-F-spear this NP-F-hurl-PA/PURP
 'This spear is for hurling.'

Instrumental Nominalization is characterized by -et
 and alternate forms.

Example:

(265) e -yeaun-i nyikoku ny-e-ped -yet.
 3S-bring-IMPF child NP-F-drill-INST.
 'The child will bring the drill.'

Location Nominalization has a *lo-* (masculine) or *na-* (feminine) prefix attached to verb the stems.

Example:

(266) e -per -e -te ŋ -i-kilyok na -per -it.
 3P-sleep-PERF-3P NP-M-men LOC-sleep-PERF ('camp')
 'The men are sleeping in the camp.'

Product Nominalization has *-aat/-oot* suffixes. *ny-*, the noun prefix assumes the role of a *nominalizer*. The product suffixes are part of the nominalization process, but the suffixes cannot be labeled as nominalizer.

Example:

(267) e -ryeb-i Namuya ny-a-rum -aat.
 3S-pain-PERF Namuya NP-F-catch-PROD
 'The chronic pain is hurting Namuya.'

(268) e -but ny-a-rem -oot.
 3S-swell NP-F-pierce-PROD
 'The pierced wound is swelling.'

Objective Nominalization has no unique morphological characteristics, only the *ny-* for singular, and *ŋ-* for the plural prefixes. The objective express action of the main verb. This group behaves like normal nouns, and for this reason, I call them unmarked verbal nouns.

Example:

- (269) a -yak-a -si ŋ -i-kilyok ny-e-rika.
 3P-go -PERF-3P NP-M-men NP-M-hunt
 'The men are gone hunting.'

Lastly, we have the directional nominalization (ablative and ventive (allative) verbal nouns) which are characterized by *-un_i* (ventive) and *-or_i*/*-ar_i* (ablative). These deserve to be discussed separately. They are grouped for the reason that they all express *direction* of motion.

Examples:

- (270) a -wou Namuya ny-a-boŋ -un_i lokal.
 3S-refuse Namuya NP-F-return-VEN home.
 'Namuya has refused to come back home.'

- (271) a -wou Namuya ny-a-boŋ -or_i lokal.
 3S-refuse Namuya NP-F-return-ABL home
 'Namuya has refused to go back home.'

- (272) a -yak-a Napuyo ny-a-dok -ar_i lopyemu.
 3S-go-ABL/PERF Napuyo NP-F-climb-ABL platform
 "Napuyo has gone to climb up on the platform."

Nominals function like typical nouns. They can be the subjects and objects of the main verbs. They can occupy the usual positions of subjects, objects, complements, and locatives in normal Toposa constituent order (VSO). They can be modified by cardinal numerals, adjectives, adverbs, quantifiers in the same way as typical nouns. In short, they perform the same roles as typical nouns.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

PATIENT & PURPOSE NOMINALIZATION

Note that the underlined (or boldtyped) suffixes are the morphemes in focus. The endings *-at/-ot* in SG and *-an/-on* in the PL signals purpose nominalization. *-aat/-oot* in the SG and the corresponding *-an/-on* in the PL signal product nominalizations.

nyaa <u>rat</u> , naa <u>ran</u>	one to be ^killed, victim,
nyebema <u>t</u> , nibema <u>n</u>	a person to be bewitched
nyaboka <u>t</u> , naboka <u>n</u>	for digging
nyebut <u>ot</u> , nibu <u>on</u>	ostrich-feather ^cap,
nyaden <u>ot</u> , naden <u>on</u>	cow/ox given away
nyedony <u>ot</u> , nidony <u>on</u>	sewn object, mended object,
nyakony <u>at</u> , nakony <u>an</u>	for biting
nyalep <u>ot</u> , nalep <u>on</u>	for milking (cow),
nyemat <u>at</u> , nimat <u>an</u>	for drinking
nyenyama <u>t</u> , ninyama <u>n</u>	animal killed to be eaten,
nyepu <u>ot</u> , nipu <u>on</u>	animal killed for senior
	relative/ancestor spirit,
nyaton <u>ot</u> , naton <u>on</u>	new ^field,
nyegyela <u>t</u> , nigyela <u>t</u>	object of ^exchange,
nyamat <u>at</u> /namatan <u>an</u>	for drinking,

Product Nominalization

nyabema <u>aat</u> , nabema <u>n</u>	disease resulting from bewitchment,
nyaboka <u>aat</u> , naboka <u>n</u>	reservoir (dug), catchment (dug),
nyakony <u>àát</u> , nakony <u>atá</u>	

/ɲakony <u>eta</u> ɲakony <u>an</u>	bite (spot),
nyagera <u>aat</u> , ɲagera <u>an</u>	tattoo (incisions),
nyaremo <u>oot</u> , ɲaremo <u>on</u>	wound caused by thorn or spear,

APPENDIX II

STATIVE AND MANNER NOMINALIZATIONS

The Suffix *-e* is the morpheme signalling stative and manner nominalizations.

nyebeme <u>e</u>	manner of bewitching.
nyekimu <u>je</u>	eating, style of eating
nyekere <u>e</u>	running
nyecepe <u>e</u>	weeding,, style of weeding
nyekigiry <u>e</u>	writing, style of writing
nyepere <u>e</u>	sleeping manner
nyetube <u>e</u>	manner of cutting
nyedoke <u>e</u>	climbing,, manner of climbing
nyeruye <u>e</u>	sounding, style of crying, e.g., cat.

APPENDIX III

Patient and Purpose Nominalizations

The suffixes are *-at/-ot*.

ny-a-bok- <u>at</u>	A place meant for digging a well.'
nyaa <u>rat</u>	Animal purposed to be killed'
nyegwa <u>rat</u>	Something to be scratched.'
nyekony <u>at</u>	Animal (E.g., a lamb) castrated by means of biting.'
nyeruk <u>wot</u>	Meat (etc.) meant for pounding.'
nyadu <u>wot</u>	Something meant for cutting.'
nyerem <u>ot</u>	Animal, etc., meant for piercing or hurling a spear at.'

nyepetot	Something (e.g., ball) meant for kicking'
nyekic <u>wa</u> ,	
ɲikic <u>wa</u>	messenger, (lit.: "sent one")
nyekic <u>wa</u> <u>ara</u> ,	
ɲikic <u>wa</u> <u>ara</u>	messenger, (lit.: "sent one")
nyekic <u>wa</u> <u>una</u> ,	
ɲikic <u>wa</u> <u>una</u>	messenger (lit.: "sent one")
nyekic <u>w</u> <u>akina</u> ,	
ɲikic <u>w</u> <u>akina</u>	messenger, (lit.: "sent one")
nyegyel <u>ara</u>	sold object, object for ^sale,
nyegyel <u>una</u>	bought object, object to be bought, adopted child (involving payment)
nyer <u>at</u> <u>una</u> ,	
ɲir <u>at</u> <u>una</u>	adopted child (after raid),
nyepu <u>Woro</u> ,	
ɲipu <u>Woro</u>	animal to be sacrificed by disemboweling, favorite ox to be killed (ritually),
nyerik <u>uno</u> ,	
ɲirik <u>uno</u>	captive (made in war and integrated into a Toposa family), (lit.: "pulled")
nyatik <u>oro</u> ,	
ɲatik <u>oro</u>	raped one,
nyatikon <u>oro</u> ,	
ɲatikon <u>oro</u>	For raping (multiple),
nyaya <u>una</u> ,	
ɲaya <u>una</u>	brought thing/person, bride (has been brought/married),
nyegyel <u>una</u>	bought
nyegyel <u>ara</u>	for sale

APPENDIX IV

STATIVE ABSTRACT VERBAL NOUNS with -is

Suffix is -is.

nyajokis	goodness
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nyauris	smell,
nyabosis	rot, stench,
nyamonis	heat, or stinginess,
nyaronis	badness,
nyatwonis	difficulty, or preciousness,

Stative Abstract Verbal Nouns with -u and -u

nyabaan <u>u</u>	<i>stupidity</i>
nyabityan <u>u</u>	<i>stupidity, craziness,</i>
nyaabou / nyabobou	<i>sweetness, tastiness,</i>
	<i>generosity,</i>
nyaaden <u>u</u>	<i>nyadeden<u>u</u> or fierceness,</i>
nyadidin <u>u</u>	<i>narrowness,</i>
nyekiditeu	<i>smallness, youth,</i>
nyagogon <u>u</u> / nyaagon <u>u</u>	<i>strength, hardness,</i>
nyaalimu / nyalilimu	<i>coldness, weakness</i>
	<i>(person),</i>
nyalolomu	<i>width, wideness,</i>
nyapaloru	<i>bald head,</i>
nyapipilu	<i>pain, beauty,</i>
nyapolojo <u>u</u>	<i>feebleness,</i>
nyasobolu	<i>dirtiness, untidiness,</i>
nyasugaru	<i>slowness (in race),</i>
nyatitinyu	<i>bravery, endurance,</i>
nyakuuumu <u>u</u>	<i>stench,</i>

Stative Abstract Verbal Nouns with -u in SG -syo in

PL

nyapolou, napolosyo	<i>bigness, greatness,</i>
nyawosou, nawososyo	<i>wisdom, knowledge,</i>
	<i>intelligence,</i>

Stative Abstract Verbal nouns with -anut/-onut

nyaaran <u>anut</u>	killing, murder,
nyabenyan <u>anut</u>	provocation, offensiveness, insolence,
nyaita <u>anut</u>	pointedness, sharpness,
nyajaka <u>anut</u>	wealth (goods), prosperity (goods),
nyakalany <u>anut</u>	laziness,
nyakolipa <u>anut</u>	barrenness,
nyakopoc <u>anut</u>	blabbing out, divulgence, treason,
nyamoita <u>anut</u>	enmity,
nyamon <u>anut</u>	fever,
nyanyonyoa <u>anut</u>	elusiveness, luck (in escaping),
nyeryenya <u>anut</u>	brutality, cruelty,
nyasub <u>anut</u>	sorcery, magic, witchcraft,
nyatama <u>anut</u>	smallness
nyakutukwa <u>anut</u>	disputatious disposition, quarrelsomeness,
nyatuma <u>anut</u>	reluctance,
nyauria <u>anut</u>	shortness,
nyaopan <u>anut</u>	tiredness, exhaustion, fatigue,
nyakirwo <u>anut</u>	darkness,
nyamurwo <u>anut</u>	divination, diviner's procedure, magic, traditional healing,
nyacebo <u>anut</u>	tidiness, orderliness,
nyabulo <u>anut</u>	fright, fear, scare,
nyakimwo <u>anut</u>	satisfaction (food),

Stative Abstract Verbal nouns with -anu/-anu and

-onu/-onu

nyekulwakanu	poverty (no cattle),
nyacwaanu	perceptiveness,
nyagumanu	accuracy of aim, unfailing aim,

	being a good shot, sharp-shooter
nyamuton <u>u</u>	density,
nyapiran <u>u</u>	speed,
nyakiyoan <u>u</u>	mischievousness,
nyakanan <u>u</u>	leadership,
nyapalan <u>u</u>	friendship,
nyesikaran <u>u</u> .	starvation,
nyejuuran <u>u</u>	destitution, poverty,
nyakuryan <u>u</u>	fear, anxiety,

Stative Verbal nouns with -anotin in PL

nyeceboono(t), n̄iceboonotin	tidy person, orderly person,
nyekalanyanot, n̄ikalanyanotin,	
nyekalany	lazy person,
nyekimin̄, n̄ikimin̄anotin	deaf person,
nyekinim, n̄ikinimanotin	deaf person,
nyakolip, n̄akolipanotin	barren cow, barren female,
nyekulwokit, n̄ikulwakanotin	poor person (no cattle),
nyemuduk, n̄imudukanotin	blind,
nyepalag, n̄ipalaganotin	clumsy person,
nyekutukwanot, n̄ikutukwanotin	disputatious person,

Reduplication of final root syllable (Stative)

nyaminikik,	stickiness,
nyanjurubub	rudeness,

Stative Abstract Verbal nouns with *-it*, *-iti* and*-enit*

nyakuryan, nyakuryanit	fear, cowardliness
nyalilit	anger,
nyebariti	wealth (cattle), prosperity (cattle),
nyanapenit	dressing up,
nyegyelit	exchange, sale,

Stative Abstract nouns with *-i*

nyegyeli	price,
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Stative Abstract Verbal nouns with *-sya/syo* (*-sia/**-sio*)

nyebari, n̄ibarisya ,n̄ibarisea	wealth (cattle), riches (cattle), possessions (cattle),
nyakamus <i>i</i> /nyakamus , n̄akamuso,, n̄akamusyo	darkness,
nyepone, n̄iponisyo	earmark (clan-mark),
nyaporosi, n̄aporosio	scar (from spear/bullet wound),
n̄ageriso ,n̄ageresio	picked fruit,

Stative Verbal nouns with *-u* in SG and *-isea*

(isia/isya?) in PL

nyalyekonu, nyalyekou/
 nyalyekonisea, lie,

Stative Abstract Verbal nouns with -si

nyapod <u>i</u>	sadness,
nyapotis <u>i</u>	heaviness,
nyapot <u>i</u>	pregnancy,
nyanas <u>i</u>	courage,
nyemurwos <u>i</u>	medicine (given by traditional healer), charm (given by diviner),

Stative Abstract Verbal Noun with -o

nyapodo	sadness, jealousy,
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nyapodo is a variant of *nyapodi* in the previous group. But it has more than 'sadness' as far as its meaning is concerned.

APPENDIX V

ACTION NOMINALIZATION

nyakiker	'running'
nyakicap	'weeding.'
nyakimar	'counting'
nyakimuj	'food/eating'
nyakitic	'working'

APPENDIX VI

VERB STEM-FINAL PHONEMES AND PATIENT AND PURPOSE

NOMINALIZATIONS

This appendix is meant to show plural suffixes (underlined & boldtyped) of patient nominalization forms, following every possible final consonant of the verb stem. This reveals it is difficult to come up with a rule for which suffix occurs. All cited forms are masculine. It is easy to construct the feminine ones, by simply replacing *-i-* with *-a-* after every plural noun prefix *ŋ-*.

	B	
ŋikatub wok		cutters, judges
	C	
ŋiketic ok		workers
	D	
ŋikeud ak		gatherers
ŋikarid ak		mistreaters, those who squeeze
	G	
ŋikenyog ok		repeaters
	J	
ŋikemuj ak		gluttons, those who eat much
	K	
ŋikajok ak		the good (e.g. people)

ᵿikapak <u>ak</u>	splitters
ᵿikabok <u>ak</u>	those who dig
ᵿikakook	scratchers
ᵿikeyok <u>ok</u>	shepherd
ᵿikanak <u>ak</u>	suckers (e.g., calves)
ᵿikal <u>el</u> ka <u>ak</u>	vomiters (those who vomit)

L

ᵿikapol <u>ok</u>	big, dignitaries,
ᵿikaboly <u>ak</u>	players
ᵿikewal <u>ak</u>	head dressers
ᵿikemar <u>ak</u>	those who count
ᵿikagol <u>ok</u>	those who lock

M

ᵿikanom <u>ak</u>	those who burn
ᵿikatum <u>ak</u>	the fattened ones
ᵿikagum <u>ak</u>	sharpshooters
ᵿiketata <u>mak</u>	teachers
ᵿikalom <u>ak</u>	adulterers

N

ᵿikamon <u>ak</u>	mean people
ᵿikakuryan <u>ak</u>	cowards
ᵿikaen <u>ak</u>	those who imprison, or tie others

P

ᵿikep <u>ok</u>	cooks
ᵿikesip <u>ok</u>	those who employ cooks

R

ᵿikakor <u>ak</u>	dispensers of something, e.g., food
ᵿikemar <u>ak</u>	accountants, those who count
ᵿikekor <u>ok</u>	dancers
ᵿikerwor <u>ok</u>	speakers,

S

ᵿikabos <u>ak</u>	rotten things
-------------------	---------------

T

nikat <u>wak</u>	the dead
nikedet <u>ak</u>	those who whip
nikelot <u>ak</u>	those who wash, those who urinate
nikenit <u>ak</u>	inquisitors, those who ask

W

nikayew <u>ok</u>	singers
nikawa <u>ak</u>	those who stand always

Y

nikebooy <u>ok</u>	those remain behind or sit
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ŋ

nikana <u>ŋak</u>	boxers
nikaagon <u>ok</u>	the strong ones
nikakwan <u>ak</u>	the white (e.g., people)
nikabon <u>ok</u>	reternees

APPENDIX VII

OBJECTIVE NOMINALIZATION

nyetic	Work (n)
nyerika	The hunt (n)
nyayol	Friendship
nyabol <u>i</u>	Play/game
nyapak	Gap, purpose, or use
nyarem <u>o</u>	War time, warfare times, enmity

APPENDIX VIII

JUNK YARD (RESIDUE LIST)

ABSTRACT NOUNS with -inei/-sinei in the PL

The following nominals are attempted in this paper.

ɲikiculusinei	compensation for adultery (repetitions),
nyedoŋa, ɲidoŋasinei	dance,
nyekiko, ɲikikosinei	
nyekiiko, ɲikiikosinei	court session,
nyekorot, ɲikorosinei	song (commonly with dancing and clapping hands),
nyakaale, ɲakaalesinei, nyakalele,	flood, torrent, deluge, inundation, river (non- perennial, when flowing),
nyakiŋita, ɲakiŋitasinei /nyakiŋiseta	question,
nyepeyo, ɲipeyosinei	animal killed for senior generation-set,
nyepido, ɲipidosinei /ɲipidoi	court meeting, court assembly, discussion (in court), hearing (in court),
nyepitye, ɲipityesinei	custom, tradition, habit,
nyakirimo, ɲakirimosinei	killing of animal for bride's age-mates, parade of girls),
nyetita, ɲititasinei	discussion (of problem),
nyakamu, ɲakamusinei /ɲakamusio	dry season,

OTHERS

nyebemi	bewitching, evil eye,
nyabusoto, ɲabusoto	sloughed skin,

nyelote, ᵑalosioto

\ ᵑalooto

walk, character, behavior,

nyañata

boasting, bragging,

nyakiposi, ᵑakiposi

cooking utensil (esp. pot),

cooking place,

nyakipoet, ᵑakipoeta

\nyakipoet

cooking utensil (esp.

pot), cooking place,

nyateran, ᵑaterak

bride, youngest (most

recently married) ^wife,

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Schroeder, Martin. 1992. *The Toposa Primer Reader I*. Nairobi: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Sudan Branch.

PREVIOUS TOPOSA PUBLISHED MATERIALS

Among the previously published works on Toposa are:

Schroeder, Martin. 1995. *The Spelling Guide for Toposa*. Summer Institute of Linguistics & The Toposa Language Committee, 1995.

Schroeder, Martin. 1993. *Toposa Orthography*. Nairobi: Summer Institute of Linguistics - Sudan Branch.

Schroeder, Martin (ed.). 1993. *ŋiemuto Lukaalak (Many Stories): Toposa Reader II*. Nairobi: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Schroeder, Martin. 1992. *The Toposa Premier Reader I*. Nairobi: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Sudan Branch.

The Reader I is mainly an alphabetical book meant to aid those who want to learn and teach the Toposa language. The Reader II is a collection of about thirty stories meant to be a follow up to Toposa Reader I.

Other publications includes:

Schroeder, Martin. 1989. *The Toposa Verb in Narrative Discourse*. Nairobi: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

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Map (From the above Ethnologue).